

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, June 20, 1902.

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

FIRST REGIMENT OHIO VOLUNTEER LIGHT ARTILLERY.

Mr. BURTON. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 619) providing for the recognition of the military service of the officers and enlisted men of the First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Light Infantry.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the officers and enlisted men of the First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Light Artillery (three months' service), furnished by the State of Ohio under the call of the President of the United States issued on the 15th day of April, 1861, and which rendered actual military service under the command of officers of the United States and in cooperation with the regularly organized military forces of the United States, shall be held and considered to have been in the military service of and to have formed a part of the military establishment of the United States during the period for which said organization was enlisted and was in active service, and that the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to issue certificates of discharge, upon due application and satisfactory proof of identity, for all honorably discharged members of the said organization.

The amendment reported by the committee was read, as follows:

At the end of the bill add the following:

Provided, That no pay, bounty, or other emoluments shall become due or payable by virtue of the passage of this act.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I should like the gentleman from Ohio to give us a full explanation of this measure. I should like to know why these men can not obtain the relief they seek through the ordinary channels and under the existing law. This bill seems to me to be pretty far reaching.

Mr. BURTON. This company of 131 men went into the military service on the 20th of April, 1861. They immediately went into the field.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. The gentleman will pardon me a moment. Did I understand him to say that there are only 131 men interested in this bill?

Mr. BURTON. That is the exact number.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. It is spoken of as a "regiment."

Mr. BURTON. It is called a regiment, because it was made up of separate companies manning six guns.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I was misled by the name.

Mr. HULL. It was in fact a battery under the title of a regiment.

Mr. BURTON. It was a battery. It was the first military organization using artillery in the civil war. In the haste with which these men were called into the field there was no formal muster. On the 30th of May, while proceeding into West Virginia, the mustering officer of the United States came along for the purpose of making the formal muster. The commander of the regiment, as it was called, Colonel Barnett, stated to the mustering officer that the circumstances were so urgent that they could not wait for the muster. They went immediately into the field. They were mustered out at the close of the three months, and the very large majority of them reenlisted for three years. The statement has been made to me that by this bill only two of the regiment will be made eligible to receive pensions who are not eligible already. The service of the company was recognized as a regular service of the United States until 1896, and one of these two drew his pension until that year, when it was cut off.

This bill is but an act of justice. These men were in fact in the United States service, but by reason of the lack of this formal muster they did not have the legal status of soldiers of the United States.

Mr. HULL. Will the gentleman from Ohio allow me to make a short explanation?

Mr. BURTON. Certainly.

Mr. HULL. I will say to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON]—

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I reserve the right to object.

Mr. HULL. The Committee on Military Affairs has unanimously reported this bill on two or three different occasions, for the reason that when these men first went into camp in Ohio the governor of Ohio received a telegram from General McClellan, commanding in West Virginia, urging him to forward men if possible at once. This battery, without waiting to be mustered into the United States service, went to West Virginia and served under McClellan during the entire three months' term. The governor sent a man to the capital of Ohio for the purpose of mustering them; and if they had been there they would have

been mustered. They were recognized as in the United States service to the extent of going out of the State and serving during their entire term of three months, participating in several battles.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. How long did they serve?

Mr. HULL. During the entire enlistment of three months, and they would have been mustered except for the urgent call for troops made by General McClellan, then commanding in West Virginia.

Mr. KLEBERG. While they were in service, were they under the orders of United States officers?

Mr. HULL. They were under the orders of the United States commander in West Virginia, who was at that time General McClellan.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire what sort of provision is made as to their receiving any pay.

Mr. HULL. It simply recognizes them as being in the service, without giving them any pay, bounty, or emolument.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I was going to inquire about that last provision I could not catch it as the Clerk read it. It provides that there shall be no back pay?

Mr. HULL. No pay, bounty, or emoluments.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Clerk will again report the proviso.

The Clerk again read the proviso.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BURTON], as I understand, says that there are but two of them eligible for pensions?

Mr. BURTON. That is the statement which has been made to me, and one of those two did receive a pension on the theory that the enlistment had been regular until 1896, when the pension was cut off. He is now nearly 75 years old.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. How many of these 131 soldiers are now living?

Mr. BURTON. I am not able to answer that question, but less than half, I could safely say.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I shall not object.

Mr. KLEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I would inquire of the gentleman from Ohio if most of them are pensioned now under the second service?

Mr. BURTON. Yes; at least of those entitled to pensions.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. BURTON, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

UNITED STATES MAPS.

Mr. TATE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of House joint resolution 197, making certain appropriations of April 17, 1900, for printing United States maps, available for the fiscal year 1902, which I will ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the \$14,840 appropriated by the act of Congress approved April 17, 1900, for the connected and separate United States and other maps prepared in the General Land Office of the United States, which appropriation was made available for expenditure during the fiscal year 1902 by act of Congress approved March 3, 1901, be, and the same is hereby, made available for expenditure during the fiscal year 1902: *Provided, however,* That the said maps shall be immediately printed, mounted, and delivered to the extent and in the numbers provided by said act of Congress approved April 17, 1900, and the same shall be so made by the Secretary of the Interior from the manuscript map prepared by the General Land Office for the year 1893, with the additions and corrections made thereto from the data furnished by the General Land Office: *Provided further,* That said maps shall be delivered to the Senate and House of Representatives for distribution by October 1, 1902.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia, by direction of the Committee on Printing, asks unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution which the clerk has reported. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. TATE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I call for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia calls for the regular order. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the House will resolve itself

into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill just reported by its title, and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLET] will take the chair.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill S. 2295, the Philippine government bill, with Mr. GILLET of Massachusetts in the chair.

[Mr. JONES of Virginia addressed the committee. See Appendix.]

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. COUSINS having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. PARKINSON, its reading clerk, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 6070. An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River, at a point to be selected within 5 miles north of the Kaw River, in Wyandotte County, State of Kansas, and Clay County, State of Missouri, and to make the same a post route; and

S. 6138. An act to set apart certain lands in the State of South Dakota as a public park, to be known as the Wind Cave National Park.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13123) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bill of the following title:

H. R. 4636. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the accounts of Morgan's Louisiana and Texas Railroad and Steamship Company for transporting the United States mails.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on this disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13676) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bill of the following title:

H. R. 15004. An act to authorize the Minneapolis, Superior, St. Paul and Winnipeg Railroad Company, of Minnesota, to build and maintain a railway bridge across the Mississippi River.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendment the bill (H. R. 3110) to provide for the construction of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, had requested a conference with the House of Representatives on the said bill and amendment, and had appointed Mr. MORGAN, Mr. HANNA, and Mr. KITTREDGE as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, in 1520 Magellan, a Portuguese soldier and mariner, sailing under the flag of Spain, discovered the straits which bear his name, and sailing westward, discovered the Philippine Islands, where, having taken sides in a native broil, he was killed on the island of Mactan, April 25, 1521.

Of five ships with which Magellan sailed from Spain, only one made the circuit of the globe. One was wrecked off the eastern coast of South America, another deserted there, another was destroyed by the remnant of Magellan's followers after his death because they had not men enough to man it, another sprung a leak off Borneo, and finally one ship, the *Victoria*, with 18 survivors, came back to the port from which she sailed.

This voyage demonstrated that the world was round, and it was then first dimly realized in Europe that a mighty ocean lay between the unknown shores of America and Asia.

Compared with the tremendous sweep of years between the Pyramids and the Eiffel Tower the time from Magellan's voyage to now seems short, and yet it marks the world's transition from medievalism to modern rationalism, and holds within its scope the development of a new world, with new forms of government undreamed of then.

When Magellan sailed westward into the East men believed the earth to be the center of the universe; that the sun, moon, and stars were hung in the heavens to light the earth, and to teach otherwise was to disturb an elaborate system of theology and to encounter the danger of being treated as a combustible heretic.

Then men believed in witchcraft, king's evil, the divine right of kings, in black art and white art, good spirits and bad spirits; that comets were missiles hurled at a wicked world; that the lightnings were the javelins of Jehovah; that the earthquake was the literal voice of an angry God; and even as late as Newton's

time his theory of gravitation was declared unscriptural, because it substituted gravitation for Providence.

Since then a tremendous change has moved by slow degrees across the face of the earth, new coats of scientific truth have been explored, but in the Philippine Islands progress has lagged.

These islands took their name in 1544 from Philip, son of Charles I, then heir apparent to the throne of Castile, to which he came as Philip II in 1555.

Including the Sulu group, which form their southern boundary and rim the southern confines of the Sulu Sea, they number, large and small, more than 1,000 islands, contain about 119,000 square miles, and extend from 5° north latitude northward through about 16 degrees.

Their general shape upon the map is like the colossal skeleton of a man or an ape, seated bent forward, with his back toward the Pacific and his arms and legs extended toward Borneo, with Luzon forming the head and shoulders, Samar, Leyte, and Mindanao the back and hips, while Panay, Negros, Cebu, Masbate, and Bojol fill out the breast.

The southwest monsoon brings the wet season, which lasts nominally six months from about the middle of April, except in that part toward the Pacific, where the seasons are reversed.

On the margins of slowly widening circles around slowly developing centers of civilization, savagery has been slowly receding into the tropical woods and mountains where over thousands of primeval acres nature still holds sway.

The history of those parts of the islands which were brought directly under the dominion of Spain is a history of friction and intrigue, of unjust and repressive taxation, of chronic official dishonesty, of no justice except for those who could pay for it, and no return for the taxes drawn from the people.

THE PEOPLE.

An independent government is not necessarily a free government. A government may be independent and not free, or it may be free and not independent.

A free government is one wherein its people are protected in their "persons, property, reputations, family, and liberties."

In considering whether independence now would bring freedom to the people of the Philippine Islands, in considering whether independence would introduce order or disorder, we ought to consider their condition and their character.

In the first place, there is no such thing as a Filipino nation. The native population, whom, for purposes of description, Professor Worcester groups as Christian Malays, Mohammedan Malays, Pagan Malays, and Negritos, belong to three distinct races—the Malay, the Indonesian, and the Negrito.

The Malays form a majority of the population.

The Indonesians live in Mindanao, and are Malay crossed with Caucasian.

The Negritos are scattered in mountain tribes over the whole archipelago. They are of small stature, low grade of intellect, pronounced incapable of civilization, and are rapidly disappearing.

These three races are divided among about 84 tribes speaking various dialects and languages.

Of these tribes are three great civilized tribes—the Tagalogs, Visayans, and Ilocanos—although, if the word tribe be used in its ordinary sense as describing a tribal organization with a chief at its head, the civilized Filipinos are not, properly speaking, divisible into tribes. Their main difference is the difference in language.

Down to 1844 only a minority of the people had distinctive family names. It is now claimed, however, that the civilized natives are sufficiently homogeneous to be treated as a class.

Of the semicivilized or uncivilized tribes are:

The various tribes of Negritos;

The Gaddanes of northern Luzon, among whom it is the interesting custom of young men about to set up a domestic establishment to present to their prospective fathers-in-law such heads of such of their enemies as they are able to take during the season when the fire tree is in bloom as proof of their courage;

The Igorrotes, who live principally north of a line drawn east from the Gulf of Lingayen and cultivate the soil to some extent;

The half-caste Igorrotes, who are Igorrote crossed with Chinese who fled to the hills of Luzon on the expulsion of Limahong, the Chinese pirate, in 1574, and who are superior to the pure Igorrotes in intelligence;

The Tinguianes, who inhabit principally the district of El Abra and were nominally under the control of the Spanish Government, which appointed their headman;

The Tagbanuas of Palawan, who are descended from Negritos and Malays;

The various tribes of Moros, who live in Mindanao and the Sulu Islands.

About one-tenth of the people of the so-called civilized or Christian tribes speak Spanish, and are educated in varying degrees, from a culture that would adorn any civilization downward.

The education of the other 90 per cent ranges rapidly downward, from the ability to read and speak their local dialects and write their own names to no education at all.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman one question. Is it true that when the war between the United States and Spain broke out there were 800 native boys attending the university at Manila?

Mr. HAMILTON. I do not know. I say to the gentleman frankly, I have no statistics at hand that would enable me to answer his question accurately; but the gentleman on the other side, who spoke just a moment ago, said there were 9 universities scattered over the islands.

Mr. KAHN. Will my colleague allow me a moment? Under the Spanish dominion there were 30,000 students only in all the schools, and under the American occupation there are already 200,000 in the various schools. [Loud applause.]

Mr. COCHRAN. You say you are not informed as to that?

Mr. HAMILTON. I can not state. But I will state to my friend that what I am stating is absolutely true within my investigation, and I think the gentleman from Missouri will agree with me that only 10 per cent of the whole Christian civilization are educated, as I have said, and the education of the other 90 per cent runs rapidly downward from ability to write their names and speak their local language or dialect to no education at all.

There is no general language. For illustration, in the province of Bulacan the people speak Tagalog; 20 miles from there they speak Pampangan; and neither can understand the other.

The south half of Tarlac speaks Pampangan, and the north half speaks Pangasinan, and neither understands the other; and so on through the islands.

Since there is no general language there can be no general literature. The Tagalog is the only language which has any literature.

TEMPERAMENT.

In an endeavor to analyze the Malay temperament, Foreman, the historian, says:

The native is an incomprehensible phenomenon, the mainspring of whose line of thought and the guiding motive of whose action has never yet been discovered.

The Taft Commission, however, seems to be solving this problem by a course of candor and fair dealing which is winning the confidence and affection of the people.

Therefore any action here or there which would uncoil suspicion would not only undo the splendid work which has been done, but would retard future development.

Let us examine this alleged "incomprehensible phenomenon."

When you come to analyze them after all, human motives, veneered or otherwise, in camp or capital, clad in a blanket or a dress suit, run easily back to the elemental passions of love, hate, anger, pride, jealousy, envy, and covetousness. They grade into each other and take unto themselves other names; but they lurk behind human actions, civilized and uncivilized.

The native is treacherous and cruel in war, and it is said their traits do not desert him in time of peace; but he has been bred to the ambushade, to the stab in the back of a stronger foe, and if he has learned to withhold his confidence has he not been justified by years of treachery toward himself?

He is said to be fond of gambling, but he is not peculiar in this respect. We have eminent financiers in this country intrusted with other people's money who also gamble.

He is accused of being long on promises and short on fulfillment. This unfortunately is not peculiar to any race.

It is said that his bump of mendacity is unduly developed; that he does not appear to hold lying wrong even in the confessional, and that he frequently lies without any apparent excuse "unless it be the aesthetic satisfaction derived from the exercise of a remarkable talent in this direction."

Detection does not confuse him, it is said, but he is chagrined that his art was not more successful.

The Malay ought to make an excellent diplomat of the kind mistakenly supposed to exist before Mr. John Hay entered his recent disclaimer.

He illustrates the saying that language is given to conceal thought, and finds his likeness in the ancient Greek, to whom "a pungent untruth made true or a luminous and startling lie was a joy forever," who "entered the treaty room with a dilemma, arranged the terms with a subterfuge, and went out with a mental reservation."

Besides, what would you have? Here are a people with a natural talent for subtle modes of expression fostered by three hundred years of contact with Spanish indirection.

Let us not, however, throw too many stones at the Malay.

Touch our own civilization closely on taxes and many other things and it begins to exhibit certain alleged Malay propensities.

Officers who administer oaths in our courts frequently feel that the oath is not taking effect, and our preachers do not yet feel at

liberty to neglect references to the undiminished beauty of truth even to their most advanced congregations.

It is said the native finds exaggerated enjoyment in litigation. They have cases of Jarndyce and Jarndyce over there as well as in English-speaking countries.

Litigation is a distinctly civilized science, and the native propensity for games of chance would naturally find gratification in lawsuits, especially with the kind of courts and the kind of justice heretofore opened to them by their instructors in civilization.

The natives are charged with being averse to social order, but it would not be surprising if they did not appreciate the advantages of the "social compact," especially as it has been exhibited to them. They have been governed on the theory that governments exist for the benefit of the governors and have been on the wrong side of the governmental theory to obtain the most agreeable view.

The doctrine that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" is comparatively new in the world and has only recently been heard of in the Philippine Islands.

It is said that they are not energetic. If they were they would be an exception among tropical peoples.

There is no special reason for energy in the Tropics.

There are no winters to prepare for, no coal bills to pay. The fruit and the blossoms grow together on the same tree. Seed time and harvest are the whole year round. Nature sows the seed and hastens the product to maturity.

It is a land of exuberant life and quick decay. Why hurry?

As an old Spaniard said to Professor Worcester:

"In your country time is gold; here in the Philippines it is boiled rice."

They are said also to be hospitable but insincere; apparently imperturbable but excitable; credulous but suspicious; sober but fatalistic; plodding but improvident; religious but unscrupulous; unambitious but acquisitive; skillful but unsystematic, clean, artistic, musical, quick to learn, endowed with remarkable memories, faithful to the marriage relation or to irregular connections, and affectionate to their children.

And yet, complex as these characteristics may seem, "the mass of the people," are said to be "simple, and to have that kind of honesty which comes with simplicity."

Perhaps there are many more cultivated communities who could not file a better inventory without the aid of a biased historian.

THE FRIARS.

The government of the Philippine Islands has been a government by church and state, and religious orders have been the stronger element.

The Spanish friar combined within himself both church and state. He was spiritual guide, municipal ruler, and government agent all combined.

He was paramount in his parish, and his words had greater weight than the commands of a civil officer.

He could mix with a temporal order the hope of eternal reward or the fear of eternal punishment.

He held the conscience of the natives by the invisible power of religious influence and was powerful in all temporal matters.

The friar was there for life; the civil and military officers were there for four years, or less, if their methods did not suit the friars.

As relates to the Philippine Islands the term friars includes the members of four orders, viz, the Augustinians, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Recollectos, the Recollectos being the unshod branch of the order of St. Augustine, who are known as the shod.

The church was financially supported by the State to the extent of about \$750,000 a year, and religious corporations possessed large private revenues.

Of the four great orders, one, the Franciscan, was by its own rules not permitted to own property except conventos and schools, but the other three orders were lords of immense manors in the midst of a tax-ridden population. They owned and still own 403,000 acres of the richest lands in the islands. They own valuable business property in Manila, have large investments in Hongkong, and have money to lend.

Outside these four orders are the Jesuits, Benedictines, Capuchins, and Paulists, who have a few teachers engaged in teaching and mission work and who have not aroused the antagonism of the people.

The monks, as originally organized in the Middle Ages by such holy men as Benedict, Bernard, and Francis, were laymen. They settled upon some of the waste places of Europe, and transformed them into fields of fertile beauty. Gradually they became clerical and were finally merged into the Roman See.

The Jesuits, it appears, are on the whole the most learned ecclesiastics in the islands, and have done good work in so far as they have been permitted. They were banished from France, Spain, Portugal, and the Philippine Islands about 1768 by an order of Pope Clement XIV, but were permitted to return to the islands

in 1852 on condition that they confine themselves to teaching and missionary work.

Into the web of European history Macaulay and other historians charge that Jesuit intrigues have woven both good and evil. Be this as it may, no order of men has ever shown more fearless and unselfish consecration to noble purposes, whether in crowded cities or trackless forests, than the men who compose this order.

Their sacrifices and their sufferings, as well as the sacrifices and sufferings of friars who have lived true to the tenets of their faith, go far to atone for the failure of their weaker brethren who have fallen before temptation, and such failure is cause not for denunciation of the orders themselves or of the church to which they belong, but for regret that a great cause should be so marred.

Discussion of the friars in the Philippine Islands does not in any way involve reflection upon the church.

It is not to be inferred that the church has connived at or in any way upheld abuses in the Philippine Islands. There is no reason to suppose that it would not have controlled the friars long ago if it could have done so.

It is cause for regret that in any correct analysis of Philippine conditions the relation of the friars to the people must be taken into consideration as one of the governing elements, and that all the history and all the testimony bearing upon this subject compels us to know whether there is cause for it or not:

That the friars are intensely hated there both as landlords and as the political agents of Spain.

That they would be killed if they attempted to return to their lands.

That to attempt to uphold them against the people would precipitate another revolution; and that the feeling against them is political, not religious.

The Christian Filipino is a good Catholic, devoted to his church, and nothing could so demonstrate the depth of his hostility to the friars as the fact that notwithstanding his love for his church he hates the Spanish friar, whom he regards as the agent and policeman of Spain.

One source of Aguinaldo's power was that he preached the confiscation of the friars' lands and their division among the people. The place where these lands are was the hotbed of revolution and the place where insurrection continued longest.

To the end, then, that the friar lands question may be taken out of the Philippine problem it is proposed by this bill to authorize the Philippine government to issue bonds to raise money to buy these lands at fair prices, hold them as public property of the Philippine government, sell them at reasonable prices on easy terms to actual settlers, and to use the money so received as a sinking fund for the retirement of the bonds so issued.

THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

The Spanish government of the Philippine Islands was a government of tyranny. After the Spanish conquest the islands were gradually divided into provinces and military districts as they yielded to Spanish dominion.

These provinces were called *encomiendas* and were originally governed by *encomendarios*, who held their positions sometimes as rewards for services, sometimes by purchase, and made what they could unincumbered by conscientious scruples. They were finally superseded by judicial governors called *alcaldes*, who received small salaries and were allowed to trade. They therefore monopolized trade, tolerated no competition, fixed the purchase price of commodities to suit themselves, and sold at a liberal profit.

Unfit men without training or character frequently held these places, who ruled "without any counselor but their rude understanding or any guide but their passions." Finally, in 1844, by royal decree, government officials were prohibited from trading.

The judicial function was also lodged in them, so that the judge cooperated with himself as executive and as executive cooperated with himself as judge.

This went on till 1886, when the office of civil governor was created in lieu of that of the *alcalde mayor*, with the same powers, except that the judicial power was taken from him and vested independently.

Of late the custom has been to appoint a lieutenant-general as governor, with the local rank as captain-general, to hold for a term of three years.

Mindanao and the Sulu Islands were divided into military districts.

Luzon and the Visayan Islands were divided into:

1. Provinces and districts, presided over by a governor, assisted by a provincial council.
2. Each province or district was divided into *pueblos* (towns), governed by a municipal tribunal.
3. Each *pueblo* was divided into *distritos* (divisions).
4. Each *distrito* was divided into *barrios* (wards).
5. Each *barrio* was divided into *barangays* (groups of 50 to 100 families), presided over by a *cabeza de barangay* (head of a hundred).

Over all was the governor-general, assisted by a council of administration composed of three delegates from Luzon and three from the Visayan Islands, selected by provincial councils.

PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.

Few improvements were made by provincial governors. There was no advantage in deserving well. Merit could not insure continuance in office beyond a ministerial change.

Those exceptional governors who studied the needs of their provinces did so to no purpose. Their estimates for roads, bridges, and public works were seldom considered, and provincial funds which ought to have been expended locally were diverted to other purposes.

For illustration, Foreman cites the province of Albay, from which, according to the annual statement of 1882, there was drawn nearly \$350,000, none of which was in any way returned to the province.

In Batangas \$300,000 was collected in 1882, and yet financial aid was refused the province during an epidemic of cholera that year.

There was a chief inspector of public works with an annual salary of \$6,500, aided theoretically by a staff of 130 subordinates, who permitted public buildings to lapse into ruin.

If sums were appropriated for highway improvement, improvements were seldom made. The roads were always dusty or muddy, and most of them were never better than bridle paths. A broken bridge remained broken, and travelers forded the stream. There was no provision for the purchase of tools, cartage, or materials.

To cut a log for public use required a permit from the inspector of woods and forests, and it took a long time to communicate with him.

Official hours of work were only from 10 o'clock till noon. Besides, public officers were not there for public improvement.

TAXES.

Under the law every male inhabitant of prescribed age was obliged to render to the Government labor or its equivalent in money. So far as possible, money was collected, and the tax collectors reported the natives as having worked out their taxes and then put the money in their own pockets. The system was very simple. Government officials generally went home rich.

The native was taxed sitting, standing, sleeping, and waking; at the church and at the grave.

In all the islands there were 725 towns and 23 missions. Each town was governed by a *capitan*. Each *barrio* was divided into *barangays*, which paid taxes to their respective heads, who were responsible to the *capitan*. Each *capitan* made return to the provincial governor and council, who, in turn, remitted to the treasury at Manila, less what officials stole en route. The *barangay* chief was held responsible for what his 50 families ought to pay, whether they paid or not, and was frequently imprisoned, made bankrupt, and sold out to make good what he could not collect.

Official swindling was common. The Spanish system was to set one official to watch another, presuming no man honest, and Spanish officials generally justified the presumption of their Government in this behalf. Such a government produced its logical result—rebellion.

THE REBELLION OF 1896.

The rebellion of 1872, known as the Cavite insurrection, graded into the rebellion of 1896. It grew out of native hostility to Spanish friars, as other uprisings had done. It was put down with a strong arm, and those who escaped death were banished, or imprisoned; but the fires of rebellion smoldered on beneath the surface.

A native oath-bound secret society, known as the *Katipunan*, was formed, whose members signed their names on the roll of the order with blood drawn from incisions in their arms or legs, the scars of which remained as marks for mutual recognition.

The rebellion of 1896 was to have commenced with a general slaughter of Spaniards, but the plot was revealed by a woman through the confessional, and again the tragedy of death, banishment, and imprisonment was enacted.

At that time on the other side of the world a rebellion in Cuba was taxing the resources of Spain. Her force in the Philippine Islands was down to 1,500 Spanish troops and 6,000 native troops, more or less disaffected, but reinforcements were sent out from Spain until near the end of 1896 General Blanco had 10,000 men.

Meanwhile the rebellion had spread northward and southward of Manila. Thirty-five thousand insurgents occupied the province of Cavite with headquarters near Silan, where Emilio Aguinaldo first became prominent. Priests on the one side and peaceful natives on the other were barbarously put to death.

General Blanco was recalled by the Canovas ministry in December, 1896, and General Polivieja, who had made a reputation for energy and cruelty in Cuba, was sent out in his stead.

More troops were sent out until he commanded a land force of 28,000 men.

By the middle of March, 1897, every important native stronghold had been taken and the natives had been broken into detachments. Then Polivieja was permitted to resign and General Rivera was sent out in his stead.

The natives continued the rebellion, avoiding pitched battles, and the Spaniards were as far from destroying the Katipunan as the Katipunan was from subverting the Spanish Government.

A treaty of peace was finally signed December 14, 1897, known as the peace of Biac-na-Bato, whereby, according to Foreman, Aguinaldo and 34 other chiefs agreed to quit the Philippine Islands and not to return without the permission of Spain; and the insurgents were bound to deliver up their arms, to evacuate all places held by them, and to conclude an armistice for three years, during which Spain promised to introduce certain reforms, which the insurgents agreed not to obstruct.

On behalf of Spain, among other things, it is said, it was agreed to pay, through one Pedro A. Paterno, to the insurgents \$1,000,000, and to families who had sustained loss by reason of war, though not engaged therein, \$700,000, which sums were to be distributed at the discretion of Paterno, subject to conditions proposed by Rivera.

Be this as it may, Aguinaldo and his chiefs went to Hongkong. During two months of nominal peace which followed, 7,000 Spanish troops were sent home. The rebellion was disorganized, but the Government failed to pursue a policy of conciliation, and continued to treat the natives as seditious suspects.

Instead of a general amnesty, as promised, only a few special pardons were granted.

Discontent again blazed into rebellion in the provinces northward of Manila and in the island of Cebu.

In April, 1898, General Rivera was recalled and General Augusti was sent out in his stead.

This was the state of affairs when a little before sunrise on the 1st day of May, 1898, Dewey steamed into the harbor of Manila.

THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION.

In April, 1898, in response to an overwhelming popular demand, without regard to party, this Government declared war against Spain. Our fleet lying at anchor off Hongkong received an order to find and destroy the Spanish squadron in Pacific waters.

On that errand, in the gray of the morning of May 1, 1898, our fleet came softly into the harbor of Manila and when Gridley was ready commenced firing.

After the smoke of battle had cleared away a new power remained to be reckoned with in the Orient and an old power, with its long record of tyranny and bloodshed, was canceled out forever. After the battle of Manila Bay the city of Manila was at the mercy of the American fleet.

Its Spanish inhabitants could have been shelled into submission within a day or driven to extermination at the hands of thousands of hostile natives waiting outside the city to gratify a grudge of long standing.

Aguinaldo had not come on with the American fleet, but remained at Hongkong awaiting the report of three of his former chiefs who had come on with the American fleet to sound the public feeling and prepare the way for his return.

He followed nineteen days later, immediately proclaimed himself dictator, and his old companions rallied to his standard.

Admiral Dewey declared in the report of the first Philippine Commission that "No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo, nor was any promise of independence made to him at any time."

This official statement he has many times supplemented by unofficial statements.

On the 23d of June an assembly summoned by Aguinaldo proclaimed a provisional government, and efforts were made to draw our American officers into some sort of recognition of it, the insurgents not understanding that American officers had no power to determine our international relations.

Outside Manila General Merritt was in command of the American land forces, and the insurgents were busy burning villages and churches and skirmishing with the Spaniards.

Aguinaldo had been steadily restrained from attacking Manila and the insurgents deemed themselves slighted by not being invited to cooperate with the Americans against the city.

Frequent altercations began to occur between native and American soldiers, the first rough prelude to the war that was to follow.

On the 12th day of August, 1898, a protocol of peace was signed at Washington, whereby it was provided that the United States should "occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace," and that five commissioners should be appointed by each of the contracting Governments to meet at Paris not later than October 1, there to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace. Next day Manila surrendered to American troops, and thereafter hostilities were suspended.

The treaty of peace was finally signed at Paris December 10, 1898, and six months were allowed for ratification by the respective Governments.

THE INSURRECTION AGAINST AMERICA.

Meanwhile in and about Manila the relations between natives and Americans continued strained.

In considering the Philippine situation at this time it must be borne in mind that the warlike spirit was running high among the natives.

Aguinaldo was issuing frequent proclamations, misrepresenting American intentions.

Native newspapers were inflaming public feeling.

Lying pamphlets were being circulated and demagogic speeches were being made against the United States.

Financial and other encouragement was being given the insurgents from juntas at Hongkong, Paris, and Madrid.

Reports sent out from America that the preponderance of American sympathy was with the insurgents were given wide effect.

The constant irritation between American and Philippine forces was aggravated by insults by Philippine soldiers, which our soldiers were under strict orders not to resent, their forbearance being construed by the Filipinos as cowardice; and the delay of the United States Senate in ratifying the Paris treaty of peace was construed as confirming the highly colored reports sent out from America.

The Paris treaty was finally ratified February 6, 1899, but open warfare was precipitated on the night of February 4 by a native attack upon our lines.

In his letter accepting the nomination for the Presidency in 1900, Mr. McKinley said:

The papers found in the recently captured archives of the insurgents demonstrate that their attack had been carefully planned for weeks before it occurred. Their unprovoked attack upon our soldiers at a time when the Senate was deliberating upon the treaty shows that no action on our part except surrender and abandonment would have prevented the fighting, and leaves no doubt in any fair mind of where the responsibility rests for the shedding of American blood.

April 11, 1899, the war with Spain was formally and officially ended, but insurrection in the Philippine Islands continued in a desultory way, encouraged up to the election of 1900 by the policy of the political organization headed by Mr. Bryan.

Finally, on the 23d day of March, 1901, the civil reconstruction of the islands being well under way, Aguinaldo was captured, and on April 19 he issued a proclamation advising submission.

IMPERIALISM.

Permit me now to shift the scene and present the political situation in America as it relates to the Philippine Islands.

When a party has a policy to present, it issues a platform. When it has no policy to present, it issues a platform just the same.

As a preliminary to the campaign of 1900, the Kansas City convention issued a platform.

After deliberating two days to determine what should be called the paramount issue, meanwhile searching all persons admitted to the committee room for concealed planks about their persons, the committee on platform finally determined, by a majority of two, that what they called imperialism should be called the paramount issue. But conventions do not make issues. Issues make themselves. Calling a thing the leading issue does not make it the leading issue, and calling a thing imperialism does not make it imperialism.

What gentlemen call imperialism is also called expansion. What gentlemen call imperialism is also called honor and duty. [Applause on the Republican side.] What gentlemen call imperialism is also called a plain, decent exhibition of civilized propriety.

In the campaign which followed the gentlemen on the other side accepted, adopted, and indorsed the Bible, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and various other good and reputable persons and publications.

They quoted Thomas Jefferson in one part of their platform, and denounced expansion as a result of the Spanish war, which they had helped to bring on, in another part of their platform, and were proud to claim some sort of political relationship to Thomas Jefferson, which he, being dead, of course could not prevent. [Laughter.]

And yet Thomas Jefferson was at one time in his own judgment an unconstitutional expansionist, also called imperialist, and the Louisiana Purchase was denounced as upsetting the whole equilibrium of our Government.

Notwithstanding this, in a speech to the New York Democratic Club April 14 last, commemorating Thomas Jefferson's birthday, the Hon. David Bennett Hill declared, with that disregard of history which the circumstances probably seemed to him to require, that, "It is safe to believe that Jefferson would never have favored an extension of our jurisdiction which did not

carry with it the provisions of our Constitution, to which he was so devotedly attached and which he defended so vigorously with voice and pen."

Andrew Jackson was an expansionist, also called imperialist, of the most pronounced and profane sort, and yet our friends who love to call themselves Andrew Jackson Democrats denounce expansion.

There is no more howling incongruity anywhere in history or fiction than summoning Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson to lend respectability to the policy of antiexpansion, or Abraham Lincoln to bolster the proposition that the Constitution extends itself. Abraham Lincoln did not believe that the Constitution extends itself, and he actively participated in a movement to prevent certain States in the South from seceding from the Union and for their government within the Union without their consent.

However, it is always a good thing to have some good names in the background of an enterprise. They lend an air of respectability to almost any kind of enterprise from eternal-youth delusions to political parties. [Laughter.]

There is no means known to the law whereby an injunction can be obtained against the fraudulent use of eminent names for political purposes.

After the names of great men gone before us have become fixed in the firmament for all time beyond the reach of party strife parties come along and begin to use them for decorative, illustrative, and advertising purposes, like the flag, and tearing a phrase here and there from its setting in their published works, proclaim it as a foretelling and justification of themselves.

In the campaign which followed, gentlemen on the other side denounced William McKinley because they said he was an imperialist.

And yet no man was less imperious or imperial than he.

Sacrificed at last to the propaganda of impersonal murder, he died as he had lived with simple, manly courage, and on the day whereon his body finished its long pilgrimage to the tomb all the wheels of traffic which had received a new impulse from his Administration stood still. There was silence along the rails and the click of the telegraph was hushed, and if men had had ears to hear they might perhaps have heard not only the song on earth, "Nearer, my God, to Thee," but a voice in the realms of Eternity saying, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Now that he is dead, I venture the prediction that it will not be long before gentlemen on the other side will have appropriated his memory to their own uses and will have his picture among their own stage properties and will be quoting his utterances as "apples of gold in pictures of silver," even as they are quoting the utterances of Abraham Lincoln.

Verily the successors and assigns of those who stoned the prophets now burn incense to their memory and garnish the sepulchers of the righteous.

We seldom do men justice until they are dead, and then we make up for the mean lies we tell of them while they are living by the good lies we tell of them after they are dead. [Laughter.]

At the end of the campaign of 1900 the old Populistic party banner, marked Imperialism and 16 to 1, partly obliterated, which had been carried by a procession of discontent, with outriders of necromancers, soothsayers, sword swallowers, serpentine dancers, and experts in curbstone discussion, was dumped in the scrap heap of ineffectual political experiment, but is being fished out and refurbished now for further political use, minus 16 to 1. [Laughter and applause on Republican side.]

THE BEGINNING OF RECONSTRUCTION.

Learned gentlemen, subtle and well skilled in the art of perverting public opinion for political purposes, charge that this Government has waged a war of spoliation in the Philippine Islands and is holding them now with an iron hand. I deny it. The man who says this slanders his Government.

The American flag has come to the people of the Philippine Islands "even as the light of the morning when the sun riseth," and wherever our flag goes the names of Abraham Lincoln and William McKinley go with it as guarantors of its beneficent purposes. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Instead of a government of spoliation, we are substituting as rapidly as possible a representative form of government.

Instead of a government of tyranny, we are substituting a government of the largest liberty which the people of the Philippine Islands are capable of sustaining.

After the ratification of the Paris treaty of peace we began the extension of humane and pacific authority for the protection of life and property.

To that end, in January, 1899, the first Philippine Commission was appointed, headed by Hon. J. G. Schurman, of New York, with instructions from William McKinley—

To report "the results of their observations and reflections;"

To exercise respect for native "ideals, customs, and institutions." Does this sound like tyranny?

To emphasize the "just and beneficent intentions of a liberating rather than conquering nation." Does this sound like tyranny?

To offer the "largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order." Is this tyranny?

To "study social conditions and to recommend Executive action."

Do these instructions sound like tyranny? Can you not hear the kindly voice of William McKinley dictating these instructions?

That Commission reported that "whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission."

They further reported that in their opinion there had never been a time since Dewey steamed into Manila Bay when we could have sailed away with honor to ourselves or safety to the people of the Philippine Islands.

And this I believe is the deliberate judgment of Christendom, no matter what gentlemen on the other side may say for political purposes.

The figure of Dewey on the bridge of the *Olympia* has taken its place for all time in the world's great gallery of heroic deeds. But if by order of this Government he had sailed away after the fight on the 1st day of May, no port in all the world's long seacoast would have greeted us without derision.

This Government "never struck a blow except for civilization, and never struck its colors." [Applause on the Republican side.]

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

In March, 1900, William McKinley appointed the second Philippine Commission, with Hon. William H. Taft, of Ohio, as chairman, and directed them to give to the people of the Philippine Islands local self-government so far as "consistent with the maintenance of law, order, and loyalty." Does this sound like tyranny?

The government established by President McKinley was dual, military and civil, and provided for a gradual reduction of military power and a gradual increase of civil power until civil government should be supreme. Accordingly our military power is being rapidly reduced, and within a year will be down to 15,000 men.

Now the acts of this Philippine Commission, "what they have done, are they not written in the book of the chronicles" of golden deeds to be read and applauded by all men for all time?

Have they not already transformed jungles where crouched the unspeakable cruelties of war into places of safety?

Have they not invaded the black jungles of human ignorance where "lust and avarice and anger creep" and laid the foundations of American schoolhouses?

And because there are some jungles left shall we quit the work? Have they not mapped, platted, surveyed, and systematized disorder into order?

Shall we let order lapse again into disorder?

Are they not the executors of the last will of William McKinley toward the people of the Philippine Islands, and was he not the representative of the will of the American people in this behalf?

I listened to Governor Taft day after day when he appeared before the Insular Committee. I regard him as an absolutely honest man, incapable of misrepresentation. I believe him to be broad-minded and incorruptible; I believe him to be peculiarly qualified for his difficult position, and if you gentlemen on the other side will only give them a chance, I believe he and the Commission of which he is chief will work out a splendid consummation in the Philippine Islands.

Verily, no men ever had nobler work to do and no men ever did their work more nobly than this same Taft Commission. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Instead of a Katipunan, with men signing their names in blood, there is now a Federal party, with Federal committees organized in every town "to secure peace for the Philippine Islands under the American flag." [Applause on the Republican side.]

Insurrection has practically ceased to make war against the sovereignty of the United States and has grasped the hand of amity and friendship extended to it across battlefields where blood was shed because of misunderstanding and misrepresentation of our fair intentions.

Under a law passed pursuant to the direction of the President of the United States, four executive departments have been created:

DEPARTMENTS.

First, a department of the interior, comprehending bureaus of health, quarantine, forestry, mining, agriculture, fisheries, weather, non-Christian tribes, public lands, government laboratories, patents and copyrights.

Second, a department of commerce and police, comprehending bureaus of interisland transportation, post-offices, telegraphs, coast and geodetic survey, public works, constabulary, prisons, light-houses, and corporations except banks.

Third, a department of finance and justice, comprehending bureaus of the treasury, auditor, customs and immigration, internal revenue, storage and ice plant, banks, banking, coinage and currency, and of justice.

Fourth, a department of public instruction, comprehending bureaus of public instruction, public charities, public libraries and museums, statistics, public records, public printing, public buildings, and architecture.

PROVINCES.

Thirty-five provinces have been organized into orderly municipalities, each with its provincial board, composed of a governor, treasurer, and supervisor, with a secretary of the province for its secretary and a prosecuting attorney for its legal adviser.

TOWNS.

Eight hundred towns have been organized into autonomous municipalities, with executive officers and municipal councils, wherein the people elect their own officers, measure their own taxes, and fix the salaries of their own public servants within the limitations of law.

And "it is pertinent to add here," in the language of the message of the Federal party to Congress in November last, "that the commissioners, while traveling about the islands in the organization of these provinces and municipalities, were received everywhere with sincere and splendid manifestations of enthusiasm, demonstrative of the ardent desire to enjoy as soon as may be civil rule."

LAW AND ORDER.

For the preservation of law and order a police force has been provided of not more than 150 natives for each province, with inspectors for each province, under the supervision of a chief at Manila, and 4 assistant chiefs in four grand divisions of the archipelago.

LAWS AND COURTS.

The labyrinth of Spanish laws, violated by power and perverted by subtlety, with its maze of expense, delay, and disappointment, is being superseded by a plain code of American laws, administered by a plain bench of honest judges; by a supreme court, composed of a chief justice and six associate justices (three of the court being Filipinos), holding regular terms at Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu.

By courts of first instance having jurisdiction in fifteen judicial districts, embracing every province in the islands; one-third of the judges whereof are Filipinos.

By courts of justice of the peace, established in every organized municipality in the islands.

THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY.

It is proposed that when "general and complete peace shall have been established there shall be a census taken," and that part of the islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes shall be divided into districts, each of which shall be entitled to elect a delegate, for a term of two years, to a popular assembly of the people of the Philippine Islands, to be known as the Philippine assembly, which shall have legislative sessions commencing on the first Monday in February in each year.

TWO COMMISSIONERS.

Not only are the people of the Philippine Islands to be represented in their own legislative assembly, but the Philippine government is to be represented in the Congress of the United States by two commissioners elected by the people from two grand divisions of the archipelago, who shall be entitled to official recognition here and to the privileges of the floor of both Houses of Congress.

TAXES.

Bearing in mind the injunction of William McKinley, "that provisions for taxation should be simple, so that they may be understood by the people," it is proposed to raise revenue with the least burden upon those least able to stand it, reversing the method pursued by Spain.

PUBLIC LANDS.

It is proposed to establish a public-land system and a survey of lands. Under the Spanish system there was no survey of lands.

Out of about 73,000,000 acres, only about 5,000,000 were owned by individuals. About 400,000 people occupy lands to which they have never been able to obtain title. We propose to give the word "home" a new meaning in the Philippine Islands by the passage of a homestead law whereby a man may own, hold, improve, transfer, or devise some parcel of his native land.

ROADS.

Bridle paths are being converted into broad and permanent highways.

RAILROADS.

It is proposed to encourage the building of railroads and thereby to open communication between provinces, improve the lands, and build up towns along the way.

MINES.

There was no title to mines under Spanish dominion. It is proposed now to pass laws under which shall be developed the rich mineral resources of the islands.

TIMBER.

There are 30,000,000 acres of the most valuable timber lands in the world in these islands which are to be protected and used under proper restrictions.

BANKING AND COINAGE.

Under the Spanish system banks and money lenders took exorbitant toll from every business transaction.

We propose to charter banks now under proper restrictions for the protection and encouragement of trade.

The money of the Philippine Islands now, besides the American money which our pay roll puts in circulation, is:

Mexican silver dollars, containing 377.18 fine grains.

Some Spanish-Filipino dollars, containing less silver of less fineness, but passing current with Mexican silver dollars.

Paper money issued by the Spanish-Filipino Bank and minor coinage.

These Mexican and Spanish Filipino coins pass at less than two for one of American money, and fluctuate from day to day in the markets of the Orient according to the intrinsic value of the silver they contain, although American dollars contain about 6 grains less pure silver than Mexican dollars.

The oriental banker and the oriental merchant ring the Mexican dollar on their counters and say this dollar is worth the silver it contains. For it we will give you 50 cents to-day, but to-morrow it may be worth only 47 cents. Therefore we shall have to charge you enough in goods or exchange to cover fluctuation.

The free and unlimited coinage of American silver dollars there if not backed by the promise of this Government to keep and maintain them at par with gold would result in the same difficulty, because American silver dollars would circulate not at their face value, but at the fluctuating value of the silver they contain.

Therefore this miscellaneous money is to be replaced by coinage measured by the gold standard and suited to the needs, prejudices, and customs of the people.

This coinage is to be of pesos of about the value of our 50-cent piece, divisible into 100 centavos (one-half cent). There are also to be struck and coined 50-centavo pieces, 20-centavo pieces, 10-centavo pieces, and other minor coins, all to be measured by a stable standard of commercial and monetary value and maintained at parity "with the gold money of the United States."

All silver coins are to be coined from "silver bullion produced in the United States, and purchased by the government of the Philippine Islands," including silver in the Treasury of the United States "held in excess of the amount required for the redemption in full of the Treasury notes issued under the provisions of" the act of July 14, 1890.

Some gentlemen urge the American coinage in the Philippine Islands, but to force our coinage there in its entirety at this time would violently change existing prices and add an element of discontent to a situation which we are endeavoring to pacify.

The native is affected by what he sees. Now, he gets 20 centavos for a day's work, perhaps, then he would get 10 cents of equal value theoretically, but in practice he would for a long time get from his employer less money for his day's work and from the merchant less goods for his money.

Besides the introduction of our American dollar maintained at its face value, as it ought to be, would be a constant invitation to counterfeiting when more than 100 per cent could be made on every dollar counterfeited.

Another proposition has found favor in some unexpected quarters, viz, the free and unlimited coinage and use of American silver in the Philippine Islands, backed by no pledge of this Government to keep it at par with gold, intending thereby to make the Philippine Islands the dumping ground of American silver. This proposition is popular with Manila bankers, who want to continue to make money out of fluctuating values.

This nation has pronounced in favor of a dollar true to name and true to the value stamped upon it.

If the gold standard is a good thing here it is a good thing in the Philippine Islands.

If it is a bad thing for our Government to set up a free open hopper into which every owner of silver may dump his silver and have it come out coined into dollars free of charge and carry the dollars away with him without restriction as to the amount coined and without provision to keep and maintain the dollars so coined at fixed value or at parity with gold, then it is a bad thing for the Philippine Islands.

Our dollar is good now the whole world round and the whole year round, and our coinage down to a cent is good as gold everywhere.

Even the Chinese rickshaw man knows and prefers our 5-cent piece to the Chinese 10-cent piece, because he knows it will purchase as much, if not more, even on his own soil, and that its value is unvarying.

The American silver dollar is good because behind every dollar stands this nation's promise to keep and maintain silver and gold at parity, and because by coinage on Government account the Government limits the output of our silver dollars within its powers of redemption. We have set up a stable standard of commercial value here around which our business transactions are carried on. Why is it not a good thing in the Philippine Islands? Shall we add instability to instability?

To flood the Philippine Islands with unstable dollars when we are trying to establish stable conditions there, to flood the Orient with a bastard imitation of our silver dollar, which circulates now upon the faith and credit of a nation which never breaks its word, would, in my opinion, be to discredit our money and our flag in the estimation of the world.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE FLAG.

By the terms of the Paris treaty of peace it was provided that the civil rights and political status of the people of the Philippine Islands should be determined by the Congress of the United States.

"The performance of this international obligation of the United States," as the Federal party of the Philippine Islands declared in its message to the Congress of the United States in November, 1901, "has been deferred to this time because of the unfortunate fact of the Filipinos having attacked the sovereignty of the United States, a hostile act which the Federal party records as having been brought about by misunderstanding and not through hatred of the American sovereignty."

Until the recently rendered decisions of the Supreme Court many people believed, and gentlemen on the other side still insist, with great force and violence, that the "civil rights and political status" of the people of the Philippine Islands came wholly within the scope and limitations of the Constitution of the United States.

Although the verdict and judgment of history and the decisions of the Supreme Court have been entered against this contention, gentlemen on the other side still for a pretense pervert history and say that the Constitution follows the flag and has extended itself automatically, *ex proprio vigore*, into and over acquired territory.

"The territorial boundaries of the United States do not advance with its successful armies nor retire before an invading foe." The theory that the Constitution follows the flag may be answered by the *reductio ad absurdum* method.

If the Constitution follows the flag, how much of the Constitution followed the flag into Canada in the war of 1812 and how much remains there?

If the Constitution follows the flag, how much of the Constitution followed the flag into Mexico and how much remains there?

If the Constitution follows the flag, how much of the Constitution followed the flag into Cuba and how much remains there?

If the Constitution follows the flag, how much of the Constitution followed the flag into China and how much remains there?

These questions answer themselves.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. Will my friend permit me to answer?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes; proceed.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. I simply wanted to say that as much of the Constitution remains there as there does of the flag.

Mr. HAMILTON. But the flag went there, did it not? And you say that the Constitution follows the flag, and you did it to deceive the people. There was not a bit of truth in it.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. But you say the flag stays put.

Mr. HAMILTON. I will tell you what I think about it. Some of you gentlemen on the other side have been busy denouncing the Supreme Court because of that decision ever since it rendered it. Now you will have to tunnel under, climb over, or go around, or perhaps you had better abolish the Supreme Court and draw talesmen from the bystanders. [Laughter on the Republican side.] You said the Constitution extends itself, did you not? That is what you contended. Do you still believe it?

The doctrine that the Constitution extends itself is the old Calhoun doctrine, whereby it was sought to extend the Constitution and thereby slavery over free soil.

It first found expression in the Dred Scott decision, and was afterwards fought out on many battlefields.

The opposite doctrine that the Constitution does not extend itself first found expression in the Republican national platform of 1856, afterwards in the Republican national platform of 1860, on which Abraham Lincoln was nominated and elected; and for that doctrine he finally died.

It is matter of common historic knowledge that the Constitution did not follow the flag into Jefferson's Louisiana purchase, nor into Florida, but was extended there by legislation framed for that purpose, just as we have always extended the Constitution by legislative enactment into territories which we have acquired and created since.

If the Constitution does not extend itself in one instance it does not extend itself in any instance because it must act by inevitable rule in every instance.

It was said that the Constitution had extended itself into and over the Philippine Islands and that the Philippine Islands had thereby become an integral part of the Union, and at the same time, as a part of the same party policy, it was proposed to withdraw the Constitution from the Philippine Islands and extend a sort of quasi Monroe doctrine there instead.

But if the Constitution extends itself and you can not control it in its extension, how can you control it by withdrawing it?

In the view of the advocates of automatic constitutional extension it would appear that the Constitution is uncontrollably elastic in extension but controllably elastic in contraction. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Gentlemen contended, however, that the Constitution had extended itself automatically *ex proprio vigore* into and over the Philippine Islands and that the Philippine Islands had thereby become an integral part of the Union.

But if the Philippine Islands have become an integral part of the Union, we being another part of the Union, then can a part of the whole dispose of another part of the whole in its relation to the whole?

And if one part of the whole can dispose of another part of the whole in its relation to the whole, then does it not follow that a part can dispose of itself in its relation to the whole; and if a part can dispose of itself in its relation to the whole, where are the bonds that bind the Union?

Verily our friends have been getting close to some fundamental questions which were supposed to be settled as far back as 1865.

A STABLE FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

If any man says we went to war with Spain for territory he slanders his Government. We went to war with Spain for a cause unique in history—the cause of humanity; and above the graves of thousands of reconcentrados starved to death by Weyler's order, above the harbor where the *Maine* lies buried, we have erected the monument of Cuba reorganized, regenerated, and free.

Now, you gentlemen who brought on the war while McKinley was getting things ready for Gridley to fire; you gentlemen who at long range inspired our troops, enlightened our officers, and otherwise generally brought the war to a glorious close by talk, was it your idea that we could go to war without results?

Incident to that war we acquired Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands; but we could only have acquired them by a treaty of peace, which had to be ratified by the United States Senate by a vote of two-thirds of the Senators present, and the United States Senate was then controlled by Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans, who consented to ratification by and with the advice and consent of William Jennings Bryan.

If gentlemen did not want these islands, why did they vote to acquire them?

Having voted to acquire these islands, you declared in your Kansas City platform that you were opposed to acquiring and holding distant islands in the sea. When did you change? [Applause on the Republican side.]

In that same platform, having voted to acquire these islands, and having declared in your platform that you were opposed to acquiring them, you proposed a declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the people of the Philippine Islands a stable form of government.

In that same platform you proposed protection from outside influence, such as you say, we give now to the States of South and Central America.

All this means, if it means anything, that you propose to stay long enough and keep soldiers enough to set up a so-called stable form of government upon the shifting sands of barbaric and oriental intrigue and inexperience, and then sail away while your so-called stable form of government is falling down.

To do this would require the same military force which we now have, with which we are setting up a stable government in the Philippine Islands; but this you denounce as militarism and refuse to vote for shelter for our soldiers there.

To do this would require the same kind of a commission which we now have, with which we are setting up and standing by a stable government there, and this you denounce as imperialism.

SOME INCONSISTENCIES.

It is hard to please you folks anyhow. In one breath you denounce these islands as the hotbed of disorder and its inhabitants

as incapable of self-government. In the next you refer to them as fecund with freedom.

You vote to annex them and straightway you denounce annexation as a crime.

You vote to take possession of them and straightway you propose to abandon them.

You hang on the flanks of our army with criticism.

If we put down insurrection, you criticise our method of putting down insurrection. If we do not put down insurrection, you criticise our failure to put down insurrection.

If we capture Aguinaldo, you criticise our method of capturing Aguinaldo. If we do not capture Aguinaldo, you criticise our failure to capture Aguinaldo.

If some soldier goes wrong, you multiply him by one hundred or one thousand and herald the news. You riot in stories of looting and ravage.

Out of party prejudice, pessimism, and guesswork you create hobgoblins with mane and tail erect and claws extended. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Some gentlemen with exaggerated vocabularies have gained such notoriety out of denouncing our soldiers and officers in the field, in the camp, in the trenches, and on the long march in the glaring sun, the chilly night, the drenching dew, and the tropic rain, that their names have been filed among the archives of their party as Presidential possibilities.

Of such stuff are Presidential possibilities made in certain quarters!

I uphold no soldier who goes wrong. I leave his case to the duly constituted authorities.

But I submit that the politician who seeks to promote his party or himself by filing a list of offenses committed by individual soldiers here and there in an army of forty thousand men in scattered army posts, laying stress on the worst and concealing the rigor of their punishment, closely approaches the demagogue; and the demagogue, by consensus of public opinion, is scarcely as respectable as the man who goes wrong under temptation fighting for his country's flag. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Perhaps I am prejudiced—I would be ashamed of myself if I were not. [Laughter.]

If these gentlemen were carrying out their plans of establishing government in the Philippine Islands with an army recruited under a Democratic Administration is it to be supposed their forces would be any more moral on that account?

It makes a man mad to have to argue this sort of thing.

Our Army is neither Democratic nor Republican. It is the Army of the Republic, composed of Democrats and the sons of Democrats, Republicans and the sons of Republicans—American citizens who are the best all-round men who walk the earth to-day or ever did walk the earth or carry arms.

Meanwhile, please God, we are going straight on to the consummation of a splendid duty. [Applause on Republican side.]

If it were not for turning back the shadow on the dial of progress it would be interesting to see how you would act if responsibility were thrust upon you.

You propose in your platform, "first, a stable form of government; second, independence, and third, a protectorate."

If you mean by "a stable form of government" the shell of a government, the "balloon frame" of a government, to be occupied by a people incapable of independent self-government, then you are guilty of proposing a cheap evasion of duty.

If you do not mean this, but actually mean a stable government, then you are guilty of gross inconsistency in hampering efforts to that end.

If you mean to play on the word "form," then you are guilty of pettifoggery in the presence of a tremendous responsibility.

If by independence you mean to take down our flag and sail away, leaving the people to take care of themselves, no party in the Philippine Islands demands this and our duty demands the contrary.

To do so would be to leave them without an army, without a navy, without money, without credit, without schools, without experience, and with the Friar lands problem still unsettled.

If by a protectorate you mean to extend a sort of quasi Monroe doctrine 7,000 miles out in the Pacific and to guarantee these islands against foreign intervention without having a word to say about their foreign policy, and to guarantee them against domestic discord without power to interfere to prevent domestic discord, you propose the impossible.

Again I quote from the message of the Philippine Federal party to Congress. They say:

Philippine independence with or without a protectorate means the holding of power by all the terrible elements of the sects which predominate and would predominate still for some years until the anger of Filipinos toward Filipinos shall have been completely calmed, education become more general, and the fanaticism we have inherited from Spain exiled.

You are no more logical in Congress than you are in your platform and on the stump.

Your Senate minority bill proposes one thing. Your House minority bill proposes another thing.

Both bills propose that miscellaneous peoples without cohesion and without experience shall frame a constitution and a government for themselves. In one case they are to do this at once. In the other, we are to stay eight years and show them how to set up a stately imitation of the edifice of our Government, and then take down our flag from its lath and plaster imitation dome and sail away, while warring tribes wander through its deserted corridors. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Now, I understand that the gentlemen on the other side have gotten together and hit upon a four-year abandonment plan, to take effect in four years. Our friends on the other side are quick workmen. They can build a constitution and establish a government to meet the phases of veering opinion whenever it is necessary.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi rose.

Mr. HAMILTON. I will yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I want to ask the gentleman two questions in one.

Mr. HAMILTON. Well, you had better put them one at a time. I do not like two in one.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I will put them both together, so you can answer them together. Is not the gentleman absolutely aware of the fact that the minority members in the Senate and the House have introduced identically the same bill?

Mr. HAMILTON. Finally they have. Now put your other question.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Is not the gentleman absolutely aware of the fact that in neither of those bills—I mean that in that bill—

Mr. HAMILTON. Which bill?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. In the bill which they have introduced, which is identical in both Houses, there is not a clause nor a sentence, and in neither of the bills proposed by individuals to be introduced in the two Houses is there a sentence or a clause, that does not surrender to the Philippine people, during the temporary government itself, without waiting for the permanent government, the control of their own affairs.

Mr. HAMILTON. Now, I answered the gentleman's first question before he put it. The gentleman from Mississippi, who is pretty candid when he is not suffering from his political environment—and he frequently does—will admit—

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Permit me to say that you always suffer from yours.

Mr. HAMILTON. Not to anywhere nearly as great an extent as my able and learned and facile friend on the other side. [Laughter on the Republican side.] Now, my friend asked me to admit something, and I will put him in the business of admitting a little. Some of you gentlemen of the minority members of the Insular Committee framed an elaborate government on an eight-year abandonment plan, did you not?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. No; there was no eight-year abandonment plan. It is a plan of immediate abandonment and a plan of eight years' autonomy and self-government in the Philippine Islands, during which we were to control only their foreign affairs, and at the expiration of that time complete autonomy as to their foreign affairs as well as to their domestic affairs.

Mr. HAMILTON. I do not agree with the gentleman.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. So that there was no eight-year abandonment plan.

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, it is an abandonment plan. You proposed in your minority bill, which was obviously framed, permit me to say, merely for political effect and not for practical use, because you abandoned it so promptly—that did provide for staying there eight years to show them how to set up a stable form of government.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. The gentleman does not want to misrepresent—

Mr. HAMILTON. Certainly not.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. That plan to which you refer—which you call the minority plan—did not provide for our staying there eight years. It provided only that during that time we should appoint a president for them, with a veto power upon their foreign affairs.

Mr. HAMILTON. That is practically staying there.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. But our troops were to be withdrawn at once.

Mr. HAMILTON. They are being withdrawn now, are they not?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. They were to be totally withdrawn.

Mr. HAMILTON. Well, now, I want to ask you a question or two while you are on your feet. You proposed in your Kansas

Democratic platform a stable form of government, did you not, for the Filipinos?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Yes.

Mr. HAMILTON. How would you set up your stable form of government there without soldiers?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Well, I will tell you how.

Mr. HAMILTON. Please do.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. The spirit of William McKinley, which has been so much exploited lately for partisan purposes, has made your answer in Cuba. He managed to set up a stable government there, and you, after he died, withdrew the soldiers from Cuba in pursuance of the policy which he had outlined. Now I will tell you how you could do it in the Philippines.

Mr. HAMILTON. You have not done it yet.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. By simply announcing to the people there that you did not intend to make war upon their independence and freedom, and that you did intend to give them what God has given them—the right to independence and freedom—and then by withdrawing your soldiers. There is no anarchy in Cuba to-day. We have withdrawn our soldiers there and we have set up a stable government there.

Mr. HAMILTON. I would rather you would not make a speech in the middle of mine.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. We set up a stable government in Cuba and we did not pin it to Cuba with bayonets, either, and we do not propose to pin a stable government to the Filipinos with bayonets. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. HAMILTON. Well, I was guilty of contributory negligence in getting that injected into the middle of my speech. [Laughter.]

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. You suggested it.

Mr. HAMILTON. The gentleman from Mississippi ought to recognize, because I pay tribute to the gentleman's intellect, the vast difference between the conditions in Cuba and in the Philippine Islands, as I already have recognized in what I have said. Now I will yield no further.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Except what we have created, there is no other difference.

Mr. HAMILTON. There is a vast difference, but it is not necessary to bandy words further about this.

I say, and I commend it to the careful consideration of fair men—I do not care what party you belong to, this idea will appeal to your fairness—that only time and education can prepare the people of the Philippine Islands for a stable form of government. A vast difference exists between Cuba and the Philippine Islands. In the Philippine Islands are 84 tribes—3 civilized Christian tribes—with only 10 per cent of the population educated in any degree. It stands to reason it ought to appeal to the judgment of any fair man that that kind of an illiterate population is absolutely incompetent and incapable of establishing for itself a constitution and setting up a government for itself in four years or even eight years.

I submit that the opinion of Governor Taft—than whom there is no fairer man in the United States or out of the United States—is entitled to a great deal of consideration in this connection. I put the opinion of Governor Taft over against the opinion of my friend from Mississippi. The conditions are entirely dissimilar, and I submit that the gentleman knows it; but the gentleman can not possibly own up to it, because it would deprive his party of some campaign material and ammunition the next time they want it. It might be because some one would have to meet an admission against interest on the floor of Congress.

Only a stable people can make a stable government. Our own Capitol is only a symbol of the stability of our Government. You may build your capitol of granite and plant its foundation on everlasting rock, and it will count for nothing if the people who come and go therein are without cohesion and a common purpose. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Only time and education can make a stable government in the Philippine Islands, and we can not look forward into the future and say arbitrarily when it will be done. With all due deference to the gentlemen who propose this four-year plan, it seems to me a political makeshift not intended to do duty in the Philippine Islands, but to serve for political purposes here.

FEEDING THE FIRE.

We are doing something better than setting up a cardboard government on quicksand, then putting up a notice to other nations to keep off the islands while we sail away, and the cardboard government goes down in a carnival of blood and crime.

We are doing our best to establish a stable government there with local self-government as rapidly as the people are able to receive it.

And one of the chief difficulties in the way of restoration of order in the Philippine Islands has come from just such gentlemen as the gentleman from Mississippi and the platform makers, vaticinators, and vacillators who inspired the Kansas City plat-

form and who are now engaged in collecting débris for another platform.

In Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress Christian is taken into a room where he sees some one throwing water on fire, but the more water is thrown on the fire the hotter it burns. He is unable to understand this until he is taken around behind a partition where he sees some one feeding the fire with oil.

In the progress of this Government toward putting down insurrection in the Philippine Islands some one has been feeding the fire with oil.

You know who has been doing this. The American people know who has been doing this. General Lawton knew who had been doing this when, a month before his death by a Filipino bullet, he wrote John Barrett:

I would to God that the truth of this whole Philippine situation could be known by everyone in America. * * * If I am shot by a Filipino bullet, it might as well come from one of my own men * * * because I know from my own observations, confirmed by stories of captured prisoners, that the continuance of fighting is chiefly due to reports sent out from America.

That is what General Lawton wrote John Barrett, and if some of you gentlemen on the other side ever get right with history you will have to bribe the historian. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

PUBLIC OPINION WILL PERMIT NO WRONG.

The logical effect of the theory of self-acting constitutional extension or of the theory that we ought to extend the Constitution at once is that the inhabitants of acquired territory would be immediately admitted to full fellowship within the Union with the people of the Territories thereof. For this the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands are not yet fit.

The theory of independence under a protectorate presumes the power of maintaining some form of stable government. For this the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands are not yet prepared.

It is axiomatic that all nations in all stages of development are not prepared for the same degree of popular government. "You can only give to an institution that which is in the people."

Our Government is the result of evolution through feudalism, free cities, and monarchy, up to democracy. It is the growth of centuries. Its beginnings were obscure, and finally converged in the struggle for American independence. Every step of our advance has been debated, and some steps are blood stained.

The population of the Philippine Islands is "civilized, semi-civilized, enlightened, and barbaric."

We can not ingraft the twentieth century upon the sixteenth century; neither can we galvanize the sixteenth century into twentieth century conditions.

The years that lie between are years of wonderful growth which can not be bridged in a single year. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Without reasoning as to why it is so, it is so that the conscience of the world is reaching the point where might does not make right, but imposes upon the mighty the responsibility of ascertaining what is right and of doing right.

Public opinion sits above constitutions, courts, and Congresses. It makes and unmakes them. They are the means through which it expresses itself.

While we may not extend the Constitution to undeveloped and unqualified peoples, the public opinion of this country is such that it will not only not permit wrong to be done to them, but the public opinion of this country is of such quality that it will not be satisfied with less than our best endeavors for their welfare.

These are the islands and these are the problems which the strange mutations of time have brought to us.

We are trying to do what no other nation ever tried to do before. We are trying to give to a detached and undeveloped people local self-government under the tutelage and protection of a great world power. We are giving them more than a formal protectorate. We are trying to protect them from themselves within and from invasion without that they may grow in peace and prosperity. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The scope of our activity, as well as of our responsibility, has widened tremendously within the last four years, but so far America has lived up to the highest ideals of her best citizenship.

The American ship of state has sailed uncharted seas within the last four years. We have not passed this way before, but wherever we have been it is cause for everlasting glory that we have made things better because we have been there. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise, the object being to consider a conference report.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. LACEY, chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill S. 2295, and had come to no resolution thereon.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON SUNDRY CIVIL BILL.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the sundry civil bill, and ask unanimous consent to consider it now.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, asks unanimous consent to take up conference report on the sundry civil bill for the purpose of considering the same now. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. RIXEY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask my friend a question. What was done with the Senate amendment in regard to the memorial bridge?

Mr. CANNON. It is not agreed to.

Mr. RIXEY. I understand the gentleman from Illinois wishes to consider this matter now. I think the friends of the memorial bridge desire a separate vote on that amendment.

Mr. CANNON. That will be all right.

Mr. RIXEY. But if it is considered now, shall we have to have a vote upon it now?

Mr. CANNON. Yes; and I think it is important to consider it now, because gentlemen are all desirous to get away. This is not a complete agreement, and the object of reporting it back was to consider all such questions as attention might be called to, so that when we return it is hoped we can close up the matter.

Mr. RIXEY. Can not this proposition go over until to-morrow morning, because there is rather a slim House now.

Mr. CANNON. It could, but at the same time it is important that we should hold the conference to-night or to-morrow morning at the latest upon this bill. Gentlemen understand the universal desire to get away. We all hope to get away in a few days.

Mr. CLARK. About when?

Mr. CANNON. I hope before the 4th of July.

Mr. RIXEY. I will state, Mr. Speaker, that while I dislike to object, I shall have to do so. At present it is a slim House, and when this matter comes up for a vote I should like to have a fair expression of views.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman's proposition may fare better to-morrow than to-day, and he has the power to object.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, as a friend of this measure, I suggest that inasmuch as there is another proposition coming from the committee on the question, and as other questions must go over, why not let this matter go over until to-morrow?

Mr. RIXEY. Will they give us an opportunity to vote upon it?

Mr. CANNON. I can make no promises. It shall be my earnest effort to secure an agreement, if I should be on the conference further with the Senate, and a final agreement, I hope. I want to be entirely frank with the gentleman.

Mr. RIXEY. But the gentleman does not give us any assurance that we shall have a vote on the proposition.

Mr. CANNON. I am ready to have a vote now as soon as we can reach it.

Mr. RIXEY. I do not wish to take the whole responsibility, Mr. Speaker, and if the gentleman from Ohio, who is a friend of the measure, is willing to have it go over, I am willing to take his view of the matter as to whether we should insist or not.

Mr. GROSVENOR. If there should be an agreement brought here to-morrow, and in that agreement there was adverse action on the question, we would still have a right to vote on it.

Mr. CANNON. But you would have to vote down the conference report.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman will let this go over until to-morrow morning.

Mr. CANNON. There is another matter to follow, and these matters will save two days' time in the length of the session if they are considered now.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I do not want to object, but I think I shall have to.

Mr. McRAE. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that this matter has been submitted and that there was no objection, and the stenographer's notes will bear me out.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not wish to cut off an objection, and objection is made by the gentleman from Tennessee. The report and statement will be printed under the rule.

The report of the committee of conference is as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13123) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, 48, 49, 50, 55, 59, 64, 84, 85, 87, 88, 94, 99, 100, 102, 112, 113, 114, 118, 119, 121, 122, 124, 125, 128, 137, 151, 152, 153, 154, 157, 159, 172, 174, 178, 179, 183, and 199.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 2, 8, 11, 22, 23, 31, 46, 47, 52, 53, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 115, 116, 117, 123, 129, 130, 131, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 155, 159, 158, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 176, 180, 181, 182, 184, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, and 198, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 12: That the House recede from its disagreement

to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the word "site," in line 2 of the matter inserted by said amendment, insert the following: "covering ten acres, more or less;" and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: On page 12 of the bill, after line 7, insert the following:

"ADDITIONAL FOR PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

"Toward amounts requisite for public buildings, including contracts authorized under the provisions of the act entitled 'An act to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings, to authorize the purchase of sites for public buildings, to authorize the erection and completion of public buildings, and for other purposes,' approved June 6, 1902, and amendments thereof, namely: Under the provisions and limitations of section 1 of said act, as follows:

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Alexandria, Va., \$20,000.

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Atlanta, Ga.: For the acquisition of additional land for the enlargement of the site heretofore acquired: *Provided*, That the land so authorized to be acquired is the remainder of the block or square upon which the present post-office building is now located, and can be secured within the limit of cost fixed by law, \$170,000.

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Augusta, Me., \$25,000.

"For post-office and custom-house at Bangor, Me., \$20,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Beaumont, Tex., including the acquisition, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, of additional ground adjoining the present site sufficient in size to accommodate the necessary enlargement of the present building, said additional ground to cost not exceeding \$15,000, \$20,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Binghamton, N. Y.: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to acquire additional land for the enlargement of the site heretofore acquired, \$2,250.

"For post-office and court-house at Brunswick, Ga., \$30,000.

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Buffalo, N. Y., \$35,000.

"For post-office at Burlington, Iowa, \$25,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Dallas, Tex., \$25,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Fort Smith, Ark., \$25,000.

"For court-house and post-office at Greensboro, N. C., \$20,000.

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Hartford, Conn., \$50,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Jackson, Miss., \$5,000.

"For post-office and custom-house at Jacksonville, Fla., \$20,000.

"For post-office at Kalamazoo, Mich., \$20,000.

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Lincoln, Nebr., \$25,000.

"For post-office at Lynn, Mass., \$1,200.

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Memphis, Tenn., \$25,000.

"For post-office at Menominee, Mich., \$1,500.

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Minneapolis, Minn., \$25,000.

"For post-office at Monmouth, Ill., \$1,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Montgomery, Ala., \$25,000.

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Nashville, Tenn., \$25,000.

"For post-office at New Brighton, Pa., \$5,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Norfolk, Va., \$8,000.

"For court-house, custom-house, and post-office at Omaha, Nebr., \$25,000.

"For post-office at Oskaloosa, Iowa, \$4,000.

"For postoffice at Ottumwa, Iowa: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to acquire additional land for the enlargement of the site heretofore acquired: *Provided*, That the land so authorized to be acquired has a frontage of 99 feet on the public park and a depth of 182 feet, and is the property now owned by the Hawley estate, adjoining the present post-office site, \$3,500.

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Paducah, Ky., \$25,000.

"For mint at Philadelphia, Pa., \$25,000.

"For custom-house at Portland, Oreg., \$10,000.

"For post-office and custom-house at Portland, Oreg., \$25,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Richmond, Ky., \$20,000.

"For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Richmond, Va.: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, the Shafer property adjoining the present post-office site in Richmond, Va., having a frontage of 60 feet on Main and Bank streets and a depth of 160 feet from Main to Bank streets, containing about 9,600 square feet, \$75,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Rochester, N. Y.: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to acquire, as additional land for the enlargement of the present site, a plot of ground, including the buildings thereon, adjoining the Government building site and between North Fitzhugh street and Pindell alley, containing about 11,088 square feet, \$40,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Rome, Ga.: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to acquire a tract of land immediately adjoining the post-office site in said city having a frontage of 88 feet on East First street and a depth of 132 feet, \$8,000.

"For court-house and custom-house at St. Joseph, Mo.: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, a tract of ground immediately adjoining the present site, with a frontage of not less than 60 feet on Eighth street and a depth of 140 feet, not to exceed \$18,000.

"For post-office and custom-house at Sandusky, Ohio: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to acquire, as additional land for the enlargement of the present site, 70 feet front on Market street and 132 feet deep, running south from the west parts of lots 7 and 9, Columbus avenue, including building thereon, not exceeding \$20,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Scranton, Pa., \$20,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Springfield, Ill., \$25,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Waco, Tex., \$25,000.

"For post-office at Youngstown, Ohio: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to acquire, as additional land for the enlargement of the present site, 73 feet on Front street and 130 feet deep adjoining the present site, not to exceed \$14,000.

"Under the provisions and limitations of section 2 of said act, as follows:

"For post-office at Emporia, Kans., \$15,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Guthrie, Okla., \$15,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Hastings, Nebr., \$15,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Norfolk, Nebr., \$15,000.

"For post-office and other Government offices at Oklahoma City, Okla., \$15,000.

"For custom-house at San Francisco, Cal., \$25,000.

"Under the provisions and limitations of section 3 of said act, including cost of site not exceeding \$1 in each case, as follows:

"For post-office at Adrian, Mich., \$10,000.

"For post-office at Atlantic, Iowa, \$10,000.

"For post-office at Centerville, Iowa, \$10,000.

"For post-office at Easton, Pa., \$10,000.

"For post-office and court-house at Florence, S. C., \$10,000.

"For post-office and land office at Gainesville, Fla., \$10,000.

"For post-office and custom-house at Grand Haven, Mich., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Ironton, Ohio, \$10,000.
 "For post-office and revenue office at Louisiana, Mo., \$10,000.
 "For post-office and custom-house at Muskegon, Mich., \$10,000: *Provided*, That lots 7, 8, and 9, in block 69, situate at the corner of Third and Clay streets, in said city, are satisfactory to the Secretary of the Treasury as a site.
 "For post-office and court-house at Ogden, Utah, \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Owosso, Mich., \$10,000.
 "For post-office and custom-house at Perth Amboy, N. J., \$10,000.
 "Under the provisions and limitations of section 4 of said act, as follows:
 "For post-office at Allentown, Pa., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Amesbury, Mass., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Anderson, Ind., \$20,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Athens, Ga., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Atlantic City, N. J., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Baraboo, Wis., \$10,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Batesville, Ark., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Battlecreek, Mich., \$20,000.
 "For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Biloxi, Miss., \$25,000.
 "For post-office at Boone, Iowa, \$20,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Charlottesville, Va., \$20,000.
 "For post-office and revenue office at Chillicothe, Ohio, \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Colorado Springs, Colo., \$30,000.
 "For post-office at Crawfordsville, Ind., \$10,000.
 "For post-office, court-house, and assay office at Deadwood, S. Dak., \$30,000.
 "For post-office at Decatur, Ill., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Dekalb, Ill., \$15,000.
 "For post-office and revenue office at Durham, N. C., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Elizabeth, N. J., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Elkhardt, Ind., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Evanston, Ill., \$20,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Evanston, Wyo., \$25,000.
 "For post-office at Findlay, Ohio, \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Flint, Mich., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Fond du Lac, Wis., \$15,000.
 "For post-office, court-house, and revenue office at Fresno, Cal., \$25,000.
 "For post-office at Gainesville, Tex., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Geneva, N. Y., \$15,000.
 "For post-office and custom-house at Georgetown, S. C., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Gloversville, N. Y., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Goldsboro, N. C., \$10,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Grand Forks, N. Dak., \$25,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Green Bay, Wis., \$25,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Greeneville, Tenn., \$20,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Hammond, Ind., \$30,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Harrison, Ark., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Henderson, Ky., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Holyoke, Mass., \$40,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Huntington, W. Va., \$25,000.
 "For post-office at Hutchinson, Kans., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Iowa City, Iowa, \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Ithaca, N. Y., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Jacksonville, Ill., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Kankakee, Ill., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Kingston, N. Y., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Kirksville, Mo., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Laramie, Wyo., \$25,000.
 "For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Laredo, Tex., \$35,000.
 "For post-office at Lawrence, Kans., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Lebanon, Pa., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Little Falls, N. Y., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Logansport, Ind., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at McKeesport, Pa., \$25,000.
 "For post-office at Marblehead, Mass., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Marshalltown, Iowa, \$20,000.
 "For post-office and revenue office at Martinsville, Va., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Maysville, Ky., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Meriden, Conn., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Muncie, Ind., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Nashua, N. H., \$25,000.
 "For post-office at Natchez, Miss., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Nevada, Mo., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Newcastle, Pa., \$25,000.
 "For post-office at Niagara Falls, N. Y., \$25,000.
 "For post-office at Norristown, Pa., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Northampton, Mass., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Oak Park, Ill., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Oil City, Pa., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Ottawa, Ill., \$10,000.
 "For post-office and revenue office at Pekin, Ill., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Reno, Nev., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Richmond, Ind., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Rock Hill, S. C., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Selma, Ala., \$15,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Sherman, Tex., \$30,000.
 "For post-office and revenue office at Spartanburg, S. C., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Stillwater, Minn., \$15,000.
 "For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Superior, Wis., \$35,000.
 "For post-office at Torrington, Conn., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Vincennes, Ind., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Warren, Ohio, \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Washington, Pa., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Waterbury, Conn., \$45,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Waterloo, Iowa, \$35,000.
 "For post-office at Wausau, Wis., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Westchester, Pa., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Zanesville, Ohio, \$25,000.
 "Under the provisions and limitations of section 5 of said act, as follows:
 "For post-office at Albert Lea, Minn., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Albuquerque, N. Mex., \$10,000.
 "For post-office at Bar Harbor, Me., \$5,000.
 "For post-office and custom-house at Calais, Me., \$6,000.
 "For post-office at Champaign, Ill., \$15,000.
 "For post-office at Columbia, Mo., \$3,000.
 "For post-office and other Government offices at Crookston, Minn., \$4,000.
 "For post-office at Hamilton, Ohio, \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Johnstown, Pa., \$20,000.
 "For post-office at Moberly, Mo., \$5,000.
 "For post-office at Muscatine, Iowa, \$15,000.
 "For post-office and land office at Natchitoches, La., \$5,000.
 "For post-office and court-house at Pierre, S. Dak., \$5,000.
 "For post-office and custom-house at Portsmouth, Va., \$15,000.
 "For post-office and custom-house at Quincy, Mass., \$12,000.

"For post-office at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., \$15,000.
 "For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Spokane, Wash., \$100,000.
 "For post-office at Yankton, S. Dak., \$7,000.
 "For post-office at Sterling, Ill., \$5,000.
 "For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Tacoma, Wash., \$100,000.
 "For post-office and custom-house at Traverse City, Mich., \$3,000.
 "For post-office and custom-house at Burlington, Vt., under the provisions and limitations of section 18 of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$25,000.
 "For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Des Moines, Iowa, under the provisions and limitations of section 15 of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$150,000.
 "For court-house and post-office at Los Angeles, Cal., under the provisions and limitations of section 17 of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$200,000.
 "For post-office at New Orleans, La., under the provisions and limitations of section 9 of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$200,000.
 "For post-office at New York, N. Y., under the provisions and limitations of section 13 of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$25,000.
 "For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Providence, R. I., under the provisions and limitations of section 10 of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$25,000.
 "For post-office at St. Louis, Mo., under the provisions and limitations of section 8 of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$210,000.
 "For post-office at Toledo, Ohio, under the provisions and limitations of section 14 of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$32,000.
 "For municipal building for the joint use of the United States and the District of Columbia at Washington, D. C., under the provisions and limitations of section 6 of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$300,000.
 "For post-office, court-house, and custom-house at Wheeling, W. Va., under the provisions and limitations of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$125,000.
 "For inquiry and report to Congress concerning public buildings at the cities named in section 22 of said act approved June 6, 1902, \$10,000."
 And the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 45: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 45, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out by said amendment insert the following:
 "Hereafter there shall be submitted in the annual Book of Estimates, under each item of appropriation under the head of "Light-House Establishment," notes showing the number of persons employed and the rate of compensation paid to each from each of said appropriations during the fiscal year next preceding the fiscal year for which estimates are submitted."
 And the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 51: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 51, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$400,000;" and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 54: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 54, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed, insert "\$22,500;" and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 53: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 53, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Add at the end of said amendment the following: "Provided, That one-half of said copies shall be placed on sale at an advance of 10 per cent over their cost;" and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 57: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 57, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:
 "For the preparation, under the direction of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, of preliminary plans for an additional fireproof steel-frame brick and terra cotta building, to cost not exceeding \$1,500,000, for the United States National Museum, to be erected, when appropriated for, on the Mall between Ninth and Twelfth streets west, said plans, when completed, to be transmitted by the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution to Congress, \$5,000."
 And the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 58: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 58, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$90,000;" and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 76: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 76, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In the line next to the last line of said amendment strike out the word "Company" and insert in lieu thereof the word "Commission;" and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 82: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 82, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 5 of said amendment strike out the words "proper accounting officers of the Treasury Department" and insert in lieu thereof the words "Secretary of the Treasury;" and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 107: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 107, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$1,066,570;" and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 110: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 110, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment; and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 123: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 123, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out the matter inserted by said amendment and restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows: "officer in charge of public buildings and grounds, in accordance with existing plans made by him;" and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 127: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 127, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the amount named in said amendment insert "\$2,500;" and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 132: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 132, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the word "contract," in line 5 of said amendment, insert the words "or contracts;" and the Senate agree to the same.
 Amendment numbered 133: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 133, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:
 "For a building to accommodate the offices of the President, to be located in the grounds of the Executive Mansion, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, including heating apparatus and light fixtures, furniture, and removal of greenhouses, all to be done according to plans the details of which shall be approved by the President and completed in every respect within the sum hereby appropriated, \$35,136, to be expended by contract

or otherwise in the discretion of, and under the direction of, the President, and to be immediately available; and said building shall be constructed with sufficient foundation and walls suitable for a durable, permanent building, and of sufficient strength for an additional story when needed."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 134: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 134, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out the amended paragraph and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"For extraordinary repairs and refurnishing of the Executive Mansion and for each and every purpose connected therewith, including all necessary alterations and additions, cabinetwork, decoration of rooms, covered ways and approaches, grading, paving, porte-cochère, gates, and electric wiring and light fixtures for house and grounds, all to be done according to plans the details of which shall be approved by the President and completed in every detail within the sum hereby appropriated, \$475,445, to be immediately available and to be expended by contract or otherwise in the discretion of and under the direction of the President.

"For rent of temporary offices for the President, to be immediately available, \$2,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 161: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 161, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "\$4,000;" and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 168: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 168, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "\$3,723,969;" and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 175: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 175, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 2 and 3 of said amendment strike out the words "July 1, 1902," and insert in lieu thereof the words "June 30, 1903;" and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 177: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 177, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 17 and 18 of said amendment strike out the words "five dollars" and insert in lieu thereof the words "one dollar;" and the Senate agree to the same.

On the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 120, 141, 142, 143, 160, 185, 186, and 191 the committee of conference have been unable to agree.

J. G. CANNON,

J. A. HEMENWAY,

THOS. C. MORAIE,

Managers on the part of the House.

W. B. ALLISON,

EUGENE HALE,

F. M. COCKRELL,

Managers on the part of the Senate.

The statement of the House conferees is as follows:

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13123) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report on each of the amendments of the Senate, namely:

On Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, relating to public buildings, makes appropriations as follows: For custom-house at Baltimore, Md., \$150,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$100,000, as proposed by the House; for completing mezzanine story in the court-house and post-office at New York, \$56,000, as proposed by the Senate; strikes out the following appropriations proposed by the Senate, namely, for post-office at Buffalo, N. Y., \$8,000, the same being provided for elsewhere in the bill; for elevators in public buildings at Covington, Ky., Detroit, Mich., Lynchburg, Va., and Wilmington, N. C., \$7,500 each, and \$5,000 for an elevator in the public building at Pensacola, Fla., and \$5,000 for grading grounds, etc., of post-office at New Brighton, Pa., the same being provided for elsewhere in the bill, and makes a verbal correction in the text of the bill.

On No. 12: Appropriates \$250,000 for purchase or erection of a marine hospital at New York, as proposed by the Senate.

On No. 14: Appropriates \$30,000 for equipment of quarantine station at Miami, Fla., and under authority of the concurrent resolution of the two Houses inserts in the bill appropriations estimated by the Treasury Department, aggregating \$4,995,450, as necessary for the acquisition of sites and the prosecution of work on the new public buildings authorized in the act approved June 6, 1902. (The total expenditures authorized by said act aggregate \$20,352,100.)

On No. 15: Strikes out the appropriation of \$30,000 proposed by the Senate for the quarantine station at Columbia, Ore.

On Nos. 22, 26, and 31: Makes appropriations as proposed by the Senate for the following light stations which have been authorized by law, namely: Schooner Ledge light station, Pennsylvania, \$300; Calumet Harbor light station, Michigan, \$7,500; and Grassy Island range light, Michigan, \$5,000.

On No. 45: Inserts a provision requiring the insertion in the Book of Estimates hereafter a statement of the persons employed and paid from the several appropriations for the Light-House Establishment.

On No. 46: Appropriates \$115,000, as proposed by the Senate, for longevity pay in the Revenue-Cutter Service.

On No. 47: Appropriates \$50,000, as proposed by the Senate, for a revenue cutter for service at Philadelphia, Pa.

On No. 48: Strikes out the appropriation of \$100,000 proposed by the Senate for a revenue cutter in the waters of Hawaii.

On Nos. 49, 50, and 51: Makes appropriations for engraving and printing as follows: For labor and expenses, \$900,000, as proposed by the House, instead of \$908,336 as proposed by the Senate; for wages of plate printers, etc., \$900,000, instead of \$1,000,000 as proposed by the Senate, and for engravers' and printers' materials, \$400,000, instead of \$350,000 as proposed by the House and \$450,000 as proposed by the Senate.

On No. 52: Makes an appropriation under the Coast and Geodetic Survey available for the preparation or purchase of preliminary plans and specifications of vessels.

On No. 53: Appropriates \$26,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$24,000, as proposed by the House, for international exchanges.

On No. 54: Appropriates \$22,500, instead of \$20,000, as proposed by the House, and \$25,000, as proposed by the Senate, for furniture, etc., for the National Museum.

On No. 55: Appropriates \$180,000, as proposed by the House, instead of \$200,000, as proposed by the Senate, for preservation, exhibition, and increase of collections in the National Museum.

On No. 56: Appropriates \$7,000, as proposed by the Senate, for printing and publishing the contributions from the United States National Herbarium,

and provides that one-half of said publications shall be placed on sale at an advance of 10 per cent over their cost.

On No. 57: Appropriates \$5,000 to procure plans for a fireproof steel-frame brick-and-terra-cotta building, to cost not exceeding \$1,500,000, for the United States National Museum.

On Nos. 58, 59, 60, and 61, relating to the National Zoological Park: Appropriates \$90,000 instead of \$80,000, as proposed by the House, for current expenses; strikes out the appropriation of \$20,000 for a boundary fence, and appropriates \$10,000, as proposed by the Senate, for an elephant house.

On Nos. 62 and 63: Provides for a foreman, at \$1,200, as proposed by the Senate, for the fish hatchery at San Marcos, Tex.

On Nos. 64 and 65: Makes specific provision, as proposed by the House, for the employment of inspectors to enforce the act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads.

On Nos. 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, and 76, relating to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Accepts all of the amendments proposed by the Senate to provisions inserted by the House providing for the Government exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, with a verbal change in the text of one paragraph.

On Nos. 77 and 78: Strikes out, as proposed by the Senate, the restrictions relating to the transportation of silver coin.

On No. 79: Appropriates \$30,000, as proposed by the Senate, for machinery and appliances for the mint at San Francisco, Cal.

On No. 80: Provides for the appointment of the general inspector of the Treasury Department to be made by the President subject to confirmation by the Senate, as proposed by the Senate.

On Nos. 81 and 82: Places the investigation of claims for reimbursement of expenses of the last sickness and burial of deceased pensioners under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, and requires that no part of any accrued pension shall hereafter be used to reimburse any State, county, or municipal corporation for expenses of the last sickness or burial of a deceased pensioner.

On No. 83: Strikes out the provision proposed by the House repealing the permanent appropriation for the collection of customs.

On Nos. 84 and 85: Restricts the appropriation made for the native inhabitants of the islands of St. Paul and St. George, Alaska, to the supplying of fuel, food, and clothing.

On No. 86: Appropriates \$2,700,000, as proposed by the Senate, for rebate on tobacco under the act of April 12, 1902.

On No. 87: Strikes out the appropriation of \$4,000 proposed by the Senate for a special commissioner to report on Government receipts and expenditures.

On No. 88: Strikes out the appropriation of \$250,000 proposed by the Senate for the purchase of the Census Office building.

On No. 89: Fixes the compensation of the superintendent of meters at \$1,200, as proposed by the Senate.

On Nos. 90, 91, and 92: Strikes out the provisions proposed by the House transferring to the control of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia the fire-engine house adjoining the Senate stables and appropriates \$500 for its repair.

On No. 93: Appropriates \$9,750, as proposed by the Senate, for steel shelving for the Senate library and authorizes the payment for steel shelving heretofore erected in the upper rooms of the Senate library out of the appropriation for the construction of rooms in the old library space.

On No. 94: Strikes out the provision inserted by the Senate authorizing the use of timber outside of the State or Territory in which the same was cut.

On Nos. 95, 96, and 97: Gives authority to survey, out of the general appropriation for surveys of public lands, lands granted under the acts approved February 26, 1857, and May 11, 1853, and makes verbal corrections in the text of the bill.

On No. 98: Appropriates \$2,000, as proposed by the Senate, for repair and protection of the ruin of Casa Grande.

On Nos. 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, and 107, relating to the Geological Survey: Strikes out the proposed increase of the salary of the disbursing clerk; increases the amount for skilled laborers and temporary employees from \$16,000 to \$20,000; strikes out the appropriation of \$5,000 for topographic survey in Porto Rico; increases the appropriation for preparation of illustrations from \$16,280 to \$18,280, and appropriates \$200,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$100,000, as proposed by the House, for gauging the streams and determining the water supply of the United States.

On No. 108: Continues until June 30, 1903, the office of Commissioner of Railroads, as proposed by the Senate.

On No. 109: Includes the cost of printing among other expenses to be defrayed from the appropriations for the Census Office.

On No. 110: Strikes from the bill the provision proposed by the Senate and the provision proposed by the House relating to the population schedules of the Eleventh and prior censuses.

On No. 111: Appropriates \$2,800 for completion of the boundary survey of the Yellowstone National Park, instead of \$400, as proposed by the House.

On Nos. 112, 113, and 114: Strikes out the provisions proposed by the Senate making immediately available certain appropriations under the Government Hospital for the Insane.

On No. 115: Appropriates \$3,291, as proposed by the Senate, for fire protection for the Columbian Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.

On Nos. 116 and 117: Appropriates \$30,500, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$29,000, as proposed by the House, for salaries of teachers at the Howard University.

On Nos. 118 and 119: Strikes out the appropriations proposed by the Senate at the Rock Island Arsenal for one artillery shed, \$18,000, and one hospital building, \$19,500.

On No. 121: Strikes out the appropriation of \$60,000 proposed by the Senate for a steamer for Sandy Hook Proving Ground.

On No. 122: Appropriates \$67,700, as proposed by the House, instead of \$87,700, as proposed by the Senate, for the powder depot near Dover, N. J.

On Nos. 123, 124, and 125: Appropriates \$5,500 for putting in new flume and water wheel at the Springfield Arsenal, Mass., and strikes out the appropriations proposed by the Senate of \$1,800 for macadamizing the roadway and \$1,500 for a bridge at said arsenal.

On No. 126: Requires that the improvement of Potomac Park, in the District of Columbia, shall be made in accordance with existing plans made by the officer in charge of public buildings and grounds.

On No. 127: Appropriates \$2,500, instead of \$5,000, as proposed by the Senate, for the improvement of Iowa Circle.

On No. 128: Strikes out the appropriation of \$2,500 proposed by the Senate for repair of granite posts and iron fencing and park basins injured by fire and otherwise, in consequence of the inaugural review on March 4, 1901.

On Nos. 129, 130, and 131: Appropriates, as proposed by the Senate, \$1,500 additional for improvement of grounds around Sherman statue, and \$4,000 for completing and unveiling said statue.

On No. 132: Appropriates \$50,000, as proposed by the Senate, for the memorial to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant.

On No. 133: Appropriates for the construction and furnishing of a building to accommodate the offices of the President, \$65,198.

On No. 134: Appropriates for extraordinary repairs and refurnishing of the Executive Mansion, \$477,445.

On No. 135: Appropriates \$100,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$130,000, as proposed by the House, for improving Bay Ridge and Red Hook channels, New York.

On No. 136: Appropriates \$150,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$234,000, as proposed by the House, for improving the harbor at New York.

On Nos. 137 and 138: Strikes out the provision proposed by the Senate for burial of soldiers who die in the immediate vicinity of the District of Columbia and increases the limit of expenses for burial of indigent soldiers who die in the District of Columbia from \$40 to \$45.

On No. 139: Appropriates \$30,934, as proposed by the Senate, for repairing road to the national cemetery at Springfield, Mo.

On No. 140: Appropriates \$2,000, as proposed by the Senate, for reconstruction of stone wall inclosing the Confederate cemetery at Camp Chase, Ohio.

On Nos. 144 and 145: Reduces the limit of cost for a site for a military post in the vicinity of Manila from \$75,000 to \$55,000 and makes a verbal correction in the text of the bill.

On No. 146: Appropriates \$3,000, as proposed by the Senate, for the improvement and repair of military cemetery at Prairie du Chien, Wis.

On No. 147: Makes the appropriation of \$7,500, proposed by the House, for a railway spur at Fort Snelling, Minn., available for such other purpose as the Secretary of War may designate.

On No. 148: Appropriates \$1,500, as proposed by the Senate, for roadway from the Aqueduct Bridge to Fort Myer, Va.

On No. 149: Appropriates \$8,000, as proposed by the Senate, for a road on Fort Sheridan Military Reservation, Ill.

On Nos. 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, and 155, relating to national military parks: Strikes out the authority for a model in relief of the Nashville and Atlanta battlefields; provides for three commissioners at each of said parks; appropriates \$100,000, as proposed by the House, instead of \$96,400, as proposed by the Senate, for the Vicksburg National Military Park, and strikes out the restriction inserted by the House prohibiting the payment of more than one commissioner in connection with each of said parks.

On No. 156: Appropriates \$50,000, as proposed by the Senate, for reconstruction in part of Providence Hospital.

On No. 157: Retains the provision requiring a contract to be made with the board of charities of the District of Columbia by the Garfield Hospital.

On No. 158: Appropriates \$50,000, as proposed by the Senate, for purchase of additional land for Garfield Hospital.

On No. 159: Strikes out the appropriation of \$200,000 proposed by the Senate for Governors Island, New York.

On No. 161: Appropriates \$4,000, instead of \$5,000, as proposed by the Senate for the Apache prisoners at Fort Sill, Okla.

On Nos. 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, and 167, relating to the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, appropriates, as proposed by the Senate, \$30,000 for a new barrack at Togus, Me., and \$500 additional for clerical services for managers.

On No. 168: Appropriates \$50,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$45,000, as proposed by the House, for defending suits in claims against the United States.

On Nos. 169 and 170: Authorizes, as proposed by the Senate, the use of not exceeding \$1,000 out of the appropriation for the defense of suits before the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission, for the purchase of books.

On No. 171: Appropriates \$5,000, instead of \$3,000, as proposed by the House, for traveling expenses of judges and clerks in the district of Alaska.

On No. 172: Appropriation for counsel to the Mission Indians \$1,000 instead of \$500, as proposed by the Senate.

On No. 173: Authorizes the employment by the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission of two commissioners at \$2,500 each, and the employment of an assistant clerk at \$2,000 and a clerk at \$1,400 in lieu of two clerks now in the service.

On No. 174: Strikes out the appropriation of \$8,000 proposed by the Senate for salary of additional judge in the second circuit, the same being provided for in the general deficiency bill.

On No. 175: Requires that from and after June 30, 1903, all fees and costs in extradition cases shall be paid out of appropriations for the judiciary.

On No. 176: Appropriates \$200,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$185,000, as proposed by the House, for regular assistants to United States district attorneys.

On No. 177: Inserts the provision proposed by the Senate with reference to the fees of clerks of United States district and circuit courts, and limits the amount to be received from attorneys for admission to not exceeding \$1 instead of \$5.

On No. 178: Strikes out the appropriation proposed by the Senate of \$1,000 for rent of rooms for the accommodation of the courts at each of the towns of Athens, Ga., and Rome, Ga.

On No. 179: Strikes out the restriction proposed by the Senate as to the expenses of judges of the circuit courts of appeals when on duty outside the State of their residence.

On No. 180: Appropriates \$725,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$650,000, as proposed by the House, for support of United States prisoners.

On No. 181: Inserts the provision proposed by the Senate authorizing the care and medical treatment of guards who may be injured by prisoners at the Leavenworth Penitentiary.

On Nos. 182, 183, and 184: Strikes out the appropriation of \$50,000 proposed by the Senate for demarcation and mapping of the boundary line between the United States and Canada, and appropriates \$5,000, as proposed by the Senate, for inspection and repair of monuments marking the boundary between the United States and Mexico.

On Nos. 187, 188, 189, and 190, relating to the Senate: Provides for special payments to three employees of the Senate, and appropriates \$1,800 for rent for storage of public documents of the Senate.

On No. 192: Authorizes, as proposed by the Senate, the employment of E. D. Turnure as a watchman in the Dome of the Capitol.

On Nos. 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, and 199, relating to public printing and binding: Appropriates \$5,257,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$5,035,000, as proposed by the House, for printing and binding for Congress and the several departments; strikes out the provision proposed by the House to credit the appropriation for printing for the Library of Congress with the proceeds of sales of copies of card indexes, and restores the provision proposed by the House authorizing the purchase of manifold material for duplicating process and patented devices for filing money-order statements by the Public Printer on the requisition of heads of departments.

The committee of conference have been unable to agree on the following amendments, namely:

On No. 1, for a hall of records in Washington;

On No. 13, appropriating \$20,000 for a quarantine station at Portland, Me.;

On Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, and 44, making appropriations, as proposed by the Senate, for sundry light-house and fog-signal stations;

On No. 120, appropriating \$25,000 for additional land for Fort Constitution, N. H.;

On Nos. 141, 142, and 143, increasing the appropriation for military posts from \$1,500,000 to \$1,800,000;

On No. 160, appropriating \$100,000 for a memorial bridge across the Potomac River;

On No. 185, appropriating \$25,000 for statistics of marriage and divorce;

On No. 186, for the employment of two commissioners to examine and report with reference to railway systems in South and Central America in connection with an intercontinental railway, in accordance with the recommendation of the Pan-American Conference; and

On No. 191, appropriating \$3,000 for busts of the late Senators Morrill and Voorhees.

The bill as passed by the Senate appropriated \$53,361,504.13, being an increase of \$6,547,808.40 over the amount carried as it was passed by the House. Of this sum, the committee of conference recommend that \$1,210,236 be stricken out and that \$4,053,572.40 be agreed to. The amendments upon which the conference committee have been unable to agree involve the appropriation of \$1,283,950. There is added to the bill, under authority of a concurrent resolution of the two Houses, \$4,995,450 for new public buildings. The items reduced or stricken from the bill by Senate amendments and restored by the conference and certain items increased by the conference committee aggregate \$353,141; so that the bill in its present status appropriates \$60,499,709.13, of which sum \$1,283,950 is involved in amendments upon which no agreement has been reached.

J. G. CANNON,
J. A. HEMENWAY,

THOS. C. MCBRAE,
Managers on the part of the House.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, Mr. JACKSON of Kansas obtained leave of absence for one week, on account of important business.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. GRIFFITH, by unanimous consent, obtained leave to withdraw from the files, without leaving copies, papers in the case of Allen W. Philips, Fifty-sixth Congress, no adverse report having been made.

SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE FOR EVENING SESSION.

The SPEAKER. The Chair announces as Speaker pro tempore for this evening's session the gentleman from New Hampshire, Mr. CURRIER.

ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill making appropriations for the Army, in order that it may be considered in the House with a view of offering a resolution.

The SPEAKER. This matter does not require unanimous consent. The bill has reached the state of disagreement and is privileged. The gentleman can call it up at once.

Mr. HULL. I do so.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL] calls up the Army appropriation bill, with the amendments of the Senate.

Mr. HULL. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk. I do this in deference to the action of the House upon a former occasion and with the hope that the adoption of this resolution may bring the two Houses together.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House insist upon its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate to the bill H. R. 12804 numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25, and request a conference thereon.

That the House adhere to its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 13 and 14.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment, insert the following:

"And whenever in the opinion of the President the lands and improvements, or any portion of them, of the military posts or reservations at Indianapolis, Ind., Columbus, Ohio, and Buffalo, N. Y., have become undesirable for military purposes he may, in his discretion, cause the same to be appraised and sold at public sale at not less than the appraised value, either as a whole or in subdivisions, under such regulations as to public notice and terms and conditions of sale as he may prescribe, and the proceeds to be deposited in the Treasury. And a sum of money not exceeding the proceeds of such sale or sales at each of such places respectively is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purchase of such lands at or in the vicinity of Indianapolis, Ind., Columbus, Ohio, and Buffalo, N. Y., respectively, as may be required for military purposes, and for building barracks or quarters on such lands to be devoted to military purposes; and the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to make such purchases of lands for the establishment of military posts at or in the vicinity of such places, respectively."

Mr. HULL. The House, I think, is familiar with the condition of affairs in regard to this subject. This matter was up some weeks ago, and the House adopted instructions in regard to certain amendments and asked for a conference. The Senate ignores that action of the House, and the bill comes back to the House, simply asking on the part of the Senate a conference. This resolution further insists on our disagreement to all amendments except three. On two of those amendments, Nos. 13 and 14, we adhere, which is, as I understand, the highest form of expressing our determination to never give up the position of the House on those amendments. The other amendment, No. 15, we propose to agree to with an amendment, so that this particular question, if this resolution should pass and the Senate agree to our action, will be taken out of the conference entirely as having been agreed to by the action of the two Houses. It eliminates the three

amendments on which instructions have been voted from the conference.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the time has come when it is hoped the two Houses will get together on this bill. There are only a few more days of this fiscal year, and this action is taken with the sincere hope that within a few days from this time this bill may become a law. If there is no gentleman desiring to be heard—

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Will the gentleman allow me one moment?

Mr. HULL. I will.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I understand that the course now proposed to be taken is to ask for a conference with the Senate upon the amendments pending to the bill.

Mr. HULL. Only on certain amendments.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. So I understand; but we ask for the conference?

Mr. HULL. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. And the message that now goes to the Senate goes with a request for a conference?

Mr. HULL. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. That is the action now proposed?

Mr. HULL. That is right.

Mr. CLARK. Allow me to ask what has become of that committee appointed to go over and confab with the Senate and beat it down?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I beg to say that I am one of the minority. I see the able chairman of that conference committee in his seat, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL]. I respectfully refer the question to him. I hope he will answer.

Mr. HULL. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, chairman of the special committee.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I will say, in answer to my friend from Missouri, that the committee has had several conferences, some informal and one formal conference, at which we debated and redebated the subject, occupying some three or four hours. We have never been able to agree. The Senate committee adheres to its support of what it regards as parliamentary proper under the circumstances, and the House committee has adhered to what it believes to be the proper parliamentary position.

Mr. CLARK. This proposition that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL] makes is a square backdown from the decision of the House committee when the committee was appointed on which was the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. DALZELL. Nothing of the kind; there is no backdown about it.

Mr. CLARK. What is it, then? Does it not surrender the very question that the gentleman from Illinois raised that morning when that committee was appointed?

Mr. DALZELL. On the contrary, it goes one step further, and, instead of referring that proposition to our committee of conference with instructions, we take the matter up in the House ourselves and announce the determination here. In other words, we say that we adhere to our disagreement to amendments 13 and 14 and recede from our disagreement to 15 with an amendment, which preserves our original attitude as to amendment 15. There is no backdown, but, on the contrary, we keep precisely the same situation that we had before.

Mr. CLARK. Now, I want to ask the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] which was the number of the amendment that he raised the question on?

Mr. DALZELL. I will explain the situation to the gentleman.

Mr. CLARK. Very well.

Mr. DALZELL. The Senate sent over the military appropriation bill with certain amendments. We disagreed to all the amendments and instructed our conferees not to report an agreement on amendments 13, 14, and 15, and we sent the instructions over in the message that announced the appointment of the conferees. The Senate took umbrage at that action and said we ought not to have told them that we had instructed our conferees. As a means of reconciling the differences between the two Houses upon the parliamentary situation, they appointed a committee to pass on the question, not of the amendments, but of the message, and we appointed a like committee, and in the meantime the bill has been lying on the Senate table.

Now, then, wholly ignoring our first message and the announcement that we had appointed conferees, the Senate sends that bill back here to-day, further insisting on its disagreement and asks for a conference. Instead of appointing conferees and instructing them as we did in the first instance, we simply ask for a conference and say that as to 13 and 14, as to which the instructions were given, we adhere. That is to say, we take the last parliamentary step that can be taken. We announce that we will not agree to 13 and 14.

Mr. CLARK. The conferees, then, have nothing to do with these two amendments?

Mr. DALZELL. Not at all. They are not in conference.

Mr. CLARK. What about amendment No. 15?

Mr. DALZELL. We recede as to that with an amendment, which preserves our original attitude with respect to it.

Mr. CANNON. That is not in conference.

Mr. DALZELL. No.

Mr. OVERSTREET. Do you not eliminate from Senate amendment 15 all that part to which reference was made in the House through our instructions?

Mr. DALZELL. Certainly.

Mr. OVERSTREET. So that the amendment which is preserved in this resolution as to amendment 15 of the Senate is that part of Senate amendment 15 which was not referred to in the original resolution of the House giving the instructions.

Mr. DALZELL. That is right.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in addition to what the gentleman from Pennsylvania has said, or if he said it he did not make it perfectly clear as I understood it, I would state that the Senate disregards, in sending the military appropriation bill here to-day, our message to them wherein we instructed our conferees as to amendments 13, 14, and 15. The Senate ignores that message and sends the bill here and asks for a full and free conference. Now, to be perfectly frank with the House, if we pass the motion which was made by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL] the House of Representatives ignores their message which they sent here to-day with this bill.

Mr. DALZELL. That is right.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Asking for a conference full and free. We ignore that, just as the Senate ignored us, and we send the bill back with the action which the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois takes. That is, we send the bill to them, appoint conferees, but adhere to amendments 13 and 14 and take them out of the conference and tell our conferees in effect that they can not consider 13 and 14 and that as to 15 we will agree to the Senate amendment with an amendment which has been read at the desk. Now, that is the situation.

Mr. DALZELL. That is right.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I do not think we backed down from our position. If I had thought so I would never have agreed to this proposition.

Mr. ZENOR. I want to make an inquiry. I am not completely advised as to the amendments relating to the authorization of sale of the arsenal grounds at Indianapolis, Buffalo, and elsewhere. I want to inquire of the chairman of the committee whether, if his motion is carried, it will carry these provisions into conference again?

Mr. HULL. No, sir; if my resolution is adopted, the result will be that we have agreed to the Senate amendment in regard to the sale of the land at Buffalo and Columbus and Indianapolis, and authorized the reinvestment of the fund in the vicinity of those places.

Mr. ZENOR. In the discretion of the Secretary of War?

Mr. HULL. In the discretion of the Secretary of War; yes.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Provided the Senate agrees to our amendment.

Mr. HULL. Oh, certainly; but so far as the House is concerned.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to; and the Speaker appointed as conferees on the part of the House Mr. HULL, Mr. CAPRON, and Mr. HAY.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I again ask unanimous consent to consider the conference report on the sundry civil bill at this time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] again asks unanimous consent to consider now the conference report on the sundry civil bill. Is there objection?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, we announced that we objected, for good reasons, as we think.

Mr. CANNON. I hoped that my friend had repented.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made.

PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT.

The SPEAKER. Under the order, the House again resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 2295), the Philippine government bill, with the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LACEY] in the chair.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield one hour to my colleague, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] is recognized for one hour.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, it is not my

purpose to discuss the special features of either the majority or minority bills presented further than to say that one proposes to hold the islands of the Philippine Archipelago as colonies and their people as subjects, while the other proposes to grant independence, which has been the aspiration of the people and for which they have made so many sacrifices.

Neither of the great political parties desires to incorporate the islands as a part of the body politic, but it is proposed by one to retain possession and govern them under laws by Congress without reference to the Constitution, while the other insists that, if retained, constitutional rights and guaranties should accompany the possession, or, if this be undesirable, independence should be given as a matter of justice to the people there and as the only consistent course for our Government to pursue.

No greater question has ever confronted the American people for wise solution, and it is well worthy of the attention of the best thought of the country.

The step which we are now about to take will determine the status of a distant people over whom we asserted sovereignty by virtue of purchase and which we now claim is absolute at the end of a protracted, costly, and disheartening war. We are about to decide upon and define a policy of government which commits us to the Old World idea of colonization, under which other peoples are held, to be governed by such laws as unlimited and unrestrained power may enact for their control.

In the history of our American Republic this is the first departure from the heretofore strictly guarded principle of government—that we can not hold countries or peoples without constitutional restraints—and marks the time in our national life when we have left the true and proper boundaries of constitutional domain to wander in other fields amid new and unfamiliar scenes.

It is well for the American people to pause and seriously consider whether extended empire over an alien people separated from us by an ocean of distance is so desirable that they are prepared for the sacrifice.

I listened with interest to the eloquent gentleman who preceded me [Mr. HAMILTON], and heard him invoke the reputation and splendid name of Abraham Lincoln as yet the guide and inspiration of the Republican party.

I invoke these words of Abraham Lincoln as his protest to the claim:

Those arguments that are made that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying, that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. They always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument. Turn it whatever way you will; whether it comes from the mouth of a king as an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouths of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent.

If these sentiments are good Republican doctrine, what latter-day imperialist can there find his defense or justification for holding men as subjects?

The fact is that the Republican party as now constituted has turned the picture of the martyr President to the wall. It has dishonored his teachings. It conjures with his name, but denies all that he stood for. It invokes at the tomb, but when the spirit of the dead arises it shudders and flees like a guilty thing.

It uses the "arguments of kings" when it speaks of human rights.

It stands for industrial slavery at home and protects human slavery in the Philippine Islands.

It prates of the flag, but its policy dishonors it.

It would found a splendid empire on the ruins of constitutional liberty. Abraham Lincoln has given the Republican party a definition of imperialism.

HOW THE TWO PARTIES STAND.

The treaty of Paris was negotiated by five American Commissioners—all Republicans named by a Republican President. It was ratified by a Republican Senate.

It left the political status and the civil rights of the United States to be determined by the American Congress.

While a few Democratic Senators voted in the affirmative on the question of ratification, the majority opposed it; those favoring ratification did so upon the ground that it would end at once all differences with Spain; that the situation could then be treated dispassionately, believing that the future of the archipelago would be determined in a manner consonant with our past history.

The Bacon resolution, which promised independence to the people of the islands, was supported with practical unanimity by the Democratic Senators, while the Republican Senators, with one exception, opposed it.

It was the policy of the Democratic party to favor that resolution. It was the policy of the Republican party to oppose it.

It was the policy of the Democratic party to bestow liberty

upon the Philippine people. It was the policy of the Republican party to deny it.

If this resolution had passed, war would not have been possible. It would have met the aspiration of a people who had struggled for liberty, and carried untold blessing instead of untold misery. For all, therefore, which followed the Republican party is alone responsible. If there has been glory in the Philippine Islands it should enjoy it; if there has been shame and disgrace it must bear the burden.

If the Democratic policy had been declared there would have been no war of extermination waged, no orders of desolation, no devastated country. More than a hundred thousand Filipinos, slain in their native land, fighting with blind devotion in what they believed was a sacred cause, would be alive to bless the great Republic.

There would have been no reprisals by American soldiers, no violation of the rules of civilized war, no torture of helpless prisoners, no blot upon the honor of American arms.

If the Democratic policy had prevailed there would have been no standing army, no hundreds of millions spent in a long and bloody war.

There would have been no dead American boys wasting in deep morasses or buried in the torrid sands.

There would have been no widows left desolate, no children crying for a father who would never come back, no mothers heartbroken here.

There would have been no American homes resting in the shadows. [Applause.]

But it is said that the Democratic party was equally responsible for all the results of the war with Spain. If this were true it might silence our complaint, though not the justice of our position now.

But it is not true. The war with Spain was to make men free, not to make men slaves.

When that war ended, our share in the enterprise was ended. As well might it be said that a person intends to go to the North Pole because he declares his purpose to go north.

Participation in a lawful act does not imply acquiescence in an unlawful act. A war to make Cuba a free republic did not mean a war to enslave the Philippine people.

To the first we contributed; to the last we protested.

From the time the treaty of Spain was negotiated by the Republicans the Democrats have opposed it. We have protested against all that followed and we protest now.

We denied the right to acquire territory over which the Constitution was not supreme. We deny it now. We desired to give the people living in the Eastern seas their independence; it is our desire now.

When it was proclaimed that the war with Spain was to shake from the throat of Cuba the mailed hand of despotism, and that "criminal aggression" was not to be thought of, we believed that statement. To accomplish our high purpose all sections of our country responded.

Troops came from the North, out of the West, and the South was ready with her brave sons who know but one flag, willing at all times to shed their blood to protect it.

All sections and all parties contributed to the grand result.

But when there were no more armies to fight, no more navies to sink, and a once proud but now humble foe was at our feet to sue for peace, the Republican party made the terms.

Free Cuba was the legitimate result of the war; the Philippine Islands is the unlawful spoil.

In freeing Cuba, a work in which all Americans were co-contributors, there has been written a luminous page in American history.

In those far-off islands another and a dark one has been added by the Republican party. One has been written with a "pencil of light," the other with the point of a bloody sword. One tells of hope realized and independence gained, the other of hope blighted and liberty dead.

On the Cuban page we have traced the record of American honor; one the Philippine page, the story of American shame.

On the one we read how the flag was hauled down and a new flag with a single star was flung to the breeze, which one day with a people's consent may yet glitter in the tiara of the Republic. [Loud applause.]

On the other we read how the flag still waves amid the desolation and ruin we have wrought.

As we gave liberty to the Cubans, so we should to the Philippine people.

There are some who say that we promised independence to Cuba and did not to the people of the Philippine Archipelago.

I dislike to think that the American Republic would quibble about the "nomination in the bond." The moral duty is the same.

We do not claim the credit of freeing Cuba on account of the

bond, for this would rob us of the honor. We claim it because of the high level of a generous and moral act, and this is the pride we take.

If a national declaration of purpose was all that prevented the retention of Cuba and the want of it our justification for holding the Philippine Archipelago, we can not escape the imputation that the nation's virtue is only established by national declaration and not by national conscience.

The Filipinos had the same cause for war with Spain that the Cubans had. But they had accomplished much more. They had the same tyrannical master, and both had suffered. There were reconcentration camps in Cuba, where the people starved and died; there were dungeons in Manila, where the waters of the sea rose over the bodies and drowned the despairing wails of captive men.

Both yearned for liberty. Both looked to our Republic to bestow it.

One received it, and a people's prayers and blessings followed the flag as it came home from its mission of mercy. The other was denied it, and the flag there stands unhonored and unloved in the tears and blood of an unhappy and stricken people. Historical accuracy, as well as the importance of the great questions involved, make it necessary to state contemporaneous testimony relating to our early occupancy of the Philippine Islands. It will serve to contrast our position before we began a cruel and indefensible war with the present attitude of defending it. It will serve to mark the change in our estimates of the Filipinos and their leader after we had been compelled to find excuses and make justifications for the national wrong.

ALLIES.

In our occupancy of the islands and military operations, before and even after the fall of Manila, the Filipinos cooperated with us and they were our allies. When it was known that war had been declared with Spain, they looked forward with bright anticipation to the coming of the American fleet. The Spaniards to discourage them from attacks on their own forces, spread the report that the Americans were coming to enslave them, and to answer this the following manifesto was issued:

AMERICA'S ALLIES—THE MANIFESTO OF THE FILIPINOS.

The following is a translation from the Spanish of a proclamation of the rebel leaders in Hongkong, sent over to the Philippines in advance of the American squadron:

Compatriots: Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach, and in a way the most free and independent nation could hardly wish for.

The Americans, not from mercenary motives, but for the sake of humanity and the lamentations of so many persecuted people, have considered it opportune to extend their protecting mantle to our beloved country, now that they have been obliged to sever relations with Spain, owing to the tyranny this nation is exercising in Cuba, causing enormous injury to the Americans, who have such large commercial and other interests there.

At the present moment an American squadron is preparing to sail for the Philippines.

We, your brothers, are very much afraid that you may be induced to fire on the Americans. No, brothers, never make this mistake. Rather blow your own brains out than fire a shot or treat as enemies those who are your liberators.

Your natural enemies, your executioners, the authors of your misery and unhappiness, are the Spaniards who govern you. Against these you must raise your weapons and odium; understand well, against the Spaniards and never against the Americans.

Take no notice of the decree of the Governor-General calling you to arms, although it may cost you your lives. Rather die than be ungrateful to our American liberators.

The governor-general calls you to arms. What for? To defend your Spanish tyrants? To defend those that have despised you, and even in public speeches asked for your extermination—those that have treated you little better than savages? No! No! A thousand times no!

Give a glance at history and you will see that all Spain's wars in Oceania have sacrificed Philippine blood. We have been put to fight in Coochin China to assist the French in an affair that in no way concerned the Philippines. We were compelled to spill our blood by Simon de Anda against the English, who in any case would have made better rulers than the Spaniards. Every year our children are taken away to be sacrificed in Mindanao and Sulu on the pretense of making us believe these people are our enemies, when in reality they are our brothers, like us, fighting for their independence.

After having sacrificed our blood against the English, against the Annamites, against the people of Mindanao, etc., what recompense or thanks have we received from the Spanish Government? Obscurity, poverty, the butchery of those dear to us. Enough, brothers, of this Spanish tutelage.

Take note, the Americans will attack by sea and prevent any reinforcements coming from Spain; therefore we insurgents must attack by land. Probably you will have more than sufficient arms, because the Americans have arms and will find means to assist us.

There, where you see the American flag flying, assemble in numbers; they are our redeemers.

Our unworthy names are as nothing, but one and all of us invoke the name of the greatest patriot our country has seen, in the sure and certain hope that his spirit will be with us in these moments and guide us to victory—our immortal José Rizal.

On June 8, 1898, wealthy Filipino patriots who had left Manila and sought refuge in Singapore thus addressed our consul-general, Mr. Pratt:

THE ADDRESS.

To the Hon. Edward Spencer Pratt, consul-general of the United States of North America, Singapore.

SIR: The Philippine colony resident in this port, composed of representatives of all social classes, have come to present their respects to you as the legitimate representative of the great and powerful American Republic, in

order to express our eternal gratitude for the moral and material protection extended by Admiral Dewey to our trusted leader, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, who has been driven to take up arms in the name of 8,000,000 Filipinos, in defense of those very principles of justice and liberty of which your country is the foremost champion.

Our countrymen at home, and those of us residing here, refugees from Spanish misrule and tyranny in our beloved native land, hope that the United States, your nation, persevering in its humane policy will efficaciously second the programme arranged between you, sir, and General Aguinaldo in this port of Singapore, and secure to us our independence under the protection of the United States. Our warmest thanks are especially due to you, sir, personally, for having been the first to cultivate relations with General Aguinaldo, and arrange for the cooperation with Admiral Dewey, thus supporting our aspirations which time and subsequent actions have developed and caused to meet with the applause and approbation of your nation. Finally, we request you to convey to your illustrious President and the American people, and to Admiral Dewey, our sentiments of sincere gratitude and our most fervent wishes for their prosperity.

SINGAPORE, June 8, 1898.

The address was presented by Dr. Santos, a man of learning and culture, and thoroughly in sympathy with the revolutionists. It was replied to by our consul-general as follows:

THE UNITED STATES CONSUL-GENERAL REPLIES.

After listening to the address the United States consul-general, also speaking in French, said:

"Gentlemen, the honor you have conferred upon me is so unexpected that I can not find appropriate words with which to thank you and with which to reply to the eloquent address you have just read to me. Rest assured, though, that I fully understand and sincerely appreciate the motives that have prompted your present action and that your words, which have sunk deep in my heart, shall be faithfully repeated to the President, to Admiral Dewey, and to the American people—from whom I am sure that they will meet with full and generous response. A little over a month ago the world resounded with the praises of Admiral Dewey and his fellow-officers and men for a glorious victory won by the American Asiatic Squadron in the Bay of Manila.

"Now we have news of the brilliant achievements of your own distinguished leader, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, cooperating on land with the Americans at sea. You have just reason to be proud of what has been and is being accomplished by General Aguinaldo and your fellow-countrymen under his command. When, six weeks ago, I learned that General Aguinaldo had arrived incognito in Singapore, I immediately sought him out. An hour's interview convinced me that he was the man for the occasion; and, having communicated with Admiral Dewey, I accordingly arranged for him to join the latter, which he did, at Cavite. The rest you know.

"I am thankful to have been the means, though merely the accidental means, of bringing about the arrangement between General Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey, which has resulted so happily. I can only hope that the eventual outcome will be all that can be desired for the happiness and welfare of the Filipinos. My parting words to General Aguinaldo were 'General, when you have proved yourself great, prove yourself magnanimous,' and from the treatment accorded to the recent Spanish prisoners it would appear that he had done so." [Applause.]

At the conclusion of Mr. Pratt's speech refreshments were served, and as the Filipinos, being Christians, drink alcohol, there was no difficulty in arranging as to refreshments. "Long life and prosperity" were drunk to Mr. Consul-General Spencer Pratt. Then the American Republic was cheered. Then Commodore Dewey was cheered for his gallant victory. Then England was cheered for sheltering the Filipino refugees.

PRESENTING A FLAG.

Then Dr. Santos, as the spokesman of the Filipino refugees, again addressed the audience with many complimentary remarks on the gallantry of Admiral Dewey and the skill and foresight of United States Consul-General Pratt, and with glowing forecasts of the prosperity that awaited the Philippine Islands under the new régime. He expressed a desire to have an American flag as a reminiscence of the day's proceedings. Mr. Spencer Pratt, again speaking in French, replied, saying:

"This flag was borne in battle, and is the emblem of that very liberty that you are seeking to attain. Its red stripes represent the blood that was shed for the cause; the white represents the purity of the motive; the blue field stands for the azure of the sky; the stars are the free and independent States of the Union. Take the flag and keep it as a souvenir of this occasion."

At the conclusion of Mr. Pratt's speech, he handed an American flag to Dr. Santos, who received it reverently, and waved it exultantly amidst the cheers of the assembled Filipinos. The flag would, said Dr. Santos, be preserved so that future generations might look at it with pride.

On April 24, 1898, a meeting took place between Admiral (then Commodore) Dewey and Aguinaldo, representing the insurgents. This was through the efforts of the American consul, Mr. Pratt. The following is the telegram of Pratt to Dewey:

Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hongkong arrange with Commodore for general cooperation insurgents Manila if desired. Telegraph. PRATT.

Dewey's reply was:

Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible.

DEWEY.

As a consequence of this meeting Aguinaldo returned to the attack on the Spanish forces with renewed vigor and with arms and ammunition furnished by Dewey.

When the terms of the treaty of peace were being discussed in Paris, the following excerpt from the answer of the United States Peace Commissioners to the demand of the Spanish commission that Spain should retain the Philippine Islands, is quoted:

Even if the United States were disposed to permit Spanish sovereignty to remain over the Philippines, and to leave to Spain the restoration of peace and order in the islands, could it now in honor do so? The Spanish commissioners have, themselves, in an earlier stage of these negotiations, spoken of the Filipinos as our allies. This is not a relation which the Government of the United States intended to establish; but it must at least be admitted that the insurgent chiefs returned and resumed their activity with the consent of our military and naval commanders, who permitted them to arm with weapons which we had captured from the Spaniards, and assured them of fair treatment and justice.

On October 14, 1898, at Paris, the following question was asked by Mr. FRYE, one of our commissioners, of Commander R. B.

Bradford, United States Navy, to which the following reply was made:

Mr. FRYE:

Q. I would like to ask just one question in that line. Suppose the United States in the progress of that war found the leader of the present Philippine rebellion an exile from his country in Hongkong and sent for him and brought him to the islands in an American ship, and then furnished him 4,000 or 5,000 stands of arms and allowed him to purchase as many more stands of arms in Hongkong, and accepted his aid in conquering Luzon, what kind of a nation, in the eyes of the world, we would appear to be to surrender Aguinaldo and his insurgents to Spain to be dealt with as they please?

A. We become responsible for everything he has done; he is our ally, and we are bound to protect him.

Before the Paris Commission, Mr. FRYE asked Gen. Charles A. Whittier, United States Army, a question, to which was made the reply following:

Q. Were they of material assistance to us?

A. Very great. If the protocol had not been signed I think the Spanish at home would have insisted upon their army doing something. They dismissed Augustin because he was not disposed to fight, and I think if they had not had this experience of having been driven back into the city and the water cut off, so even that Jaudeles said he could not remove his noncombatants, the Government would have insisted on his making a fight, and he could have made a very good one, for his position was strong, if they had any fight in them at all. But every place had been taken from them by the Filipinos, who managed their advances and occupation of the country in an able manner.

After the memorable interview with Dewey, Aguinaldo issued this proclamation:

PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL AGUINALDO, MAY 24, 1898.

FILIPINOS: The great nation, North America, cradle of true liberty and friendly on that account to the liberty of our people, oppressed and subjugated by the tyranny and despotism of those who have governed us, has come to manifest even here a protection which is decisive as well as disinterested toward us, considering us endowed with sufficient civilization to govern by ourselves this our unhappy land. To maintain this so lofty idea, which we deserve from the now very powerful nation, North America, it is our duty to detest all those acts which belie such an idea as pillage, robbery, and every class of injury to persons as well as to things. With a view to avoiding international conflicts during the period of our campaign I order as follows:

ARTICLE I. The lives and property of all foreigners, including Chinese and all Spaniards, who either directly or indirectly have joined in taking arms against us, are to be respected.

ART. II. The lives and property of those who lay down their arms are also to be respected.

ART. III. Also are to be respected all sanitary establishments and ambulances, and likewise the persons and things which may be found in either one or the other, including the assistants in this service, unless they show hostility.

ART. IV. Those who disobey what is prescribed in the preceding articles will be tried by summary court and put to death, if such disobedience shall cause assassination, fire, robbery, and violation.

Given at Cavite the 24th of May, 1898.

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

Any fair perusal of these evidences, which are contemporaneous and intrinsically true, coming from official sources, will be convincing not only of cooperation but of the national responsibility which we incurred. All the documents were forwarded to the Department at Washington when the situation was thoroughly understood.

Before the fall of Manila, Aguinaldo was in constant communication with the American officers and Consul-General Williams, and everything he did was approved.

AGUINALDO.

Success or failure has much to do with our estimates of men. When Aguinaldo was cooperating with our forces, I will quote from American officials as to his character and conduct.

The following was the impression of Consul-General Pratt, which was communicated to the Department of State:

Just previous to his departure, I had a second and last interview with General Aguinaldo, the particulars of which I shall give you by next mail.

The General impressed me as a man of intelligence, ability, and courage, and worthy of the confidence that had been placed in him.

I think that in arranging for his direct cooperation with the commander of our forces I have prevented possible conflict of action and facilitated the work of occupying and administering the Philippines.

If this course of mine meets with the Government's approval, as I trust it may, I shall be fully satisfied; to Mr. Bray, however, I consider there is due some special recognition for most valuable services rendered.

How that recognition can best be made I leave to you to decide.

I have, etc.,

E. SPENCER PRATT,
United States Consul-General.

Consul-General Wildman sent this to the Department of State July 18, 1898:

Immediately on the arrival of Aguinaldo at Cavite he issued a proclamation, which I had outlined for him before he left, forbidding pillage, and making it a criminal offense to maltreat neutrals. He, of course, organized a government of which he was dictator, an absolutely necessary step if he hoped to maintain control over the natives, and from that date until the present time he has been uninterruptedly successful in the field and dignified and just as the head of his government. According to his own statements to me by letter, he has been approached by both the Spaniards and the Germans, and has had tempting offers made him by the Catholic Church. He has been watched very closely by Admiral Dewey, Consul Williams, and his own junta here in Hongkong, and nothing of moment has occurred which would lead anyone to believe that he was not carrying out to the letter the promises made to me in this consulate.

The insurgents are fighting for freedom from the Spanish rule, and rely upon the well-known sense of justice that controls all the actions of our Government as to their future.

In conclusion, I wish to put myself on record as stating that the insurgent government of the Philippine Islands can not be dealt with as though they

were North American Indians, willing to be removed from one reservation to another at the whim of their masters. If the United States decides not to retain the Philippine Islands, its 10,000,000 people will demand independence, and the attempt of any foreign nation to obtain territory or coaling stations will be resisted with the same spirit with which they fought the Spaniards.

I have the honor, etc.,

ROUNSEVELLE WILDMAN,
Consul-General.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. What time was that?

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. July 18, 1898.

Consul-General Pratt also sent the following to the Department of State:

Considering the enthusiastic manner General Aguinaldo has been received by the natives and the confidence with which he already appears to have inspired Admiral Dewey, it will be admitted, I think, that I did not overrate his importance and that I have materially assisted the cause of the United States in the Philippines in securing his cooperation.

Why this cooperation should not have been secured to us during the months General Aguinaldo remained awaiting events in Hongkong, and that he was allowed to leave there without having been approached in the interests of our Government, I can not understand.

No close observer of what had transpired in the Philippines during the past four years could have failed to recognize that General Aguinaldo enjoyed above all others the confidence of the Filipino insurgents and the respect alike of Spaniards and foreigners in the islands, all of whom vouched for his high sense of justice and honor.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

E. SPENCER PRATT,
United States Consul-General.

Maj. J. F. Bell thus reported on August 27, 1898, to General Merritt:

In an effort to catalogue and describe the principal leaders among Aguinaldo's following I have arrived at the following conclusions, which are believed to be practically correct:

Aguinaldo.—Honest, sincere, and poor, not well educated, but a natural leader of men, with considerable shrewdness and ability; has the power of creating among the people confidence in himself, and is undoubtedly a very popular man, highly respected by all; but there are many better educated and richer natives who do not think he has sufficient education or experience to be a suitable president. He was a "little governor" of a small town in one of the provinces. It is also said that he was a school-teacher, but I have been unable to verify this assertion.

Before the fall of Manila the official records which have been made public show that Aguinaldo gratefully received all instructions from our officers and did not disobey a single order.

Both he and the men under his command were deeply imbued with the idea that the United States Government was their friend and ally and would either annex the islands as a part of the territory of the United States and make their people citizens, which was their first desire, or leave them an independent national life to begin the experiment of self-government under the guiding hand and beneficent influence of the Republic.

That they had the right to expect either one or the other, both from the conduct and words of American officials, as well as our avowed purpose toward Cuba, it is believed no just man will deny.

The evidences are overwhelming in their force.

Mr. OLMSTED. Will the gentleman yield for an inquiry?

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. I do not want to be discourteous to the gentleman, but I hope the gentleman will make the question short.

Mr. OLMSTED. If I understood the gentleman, he was demonstrating that the Filipinos were kinder than the American soldiers?

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. The gentleman is mistaken in his assumption as to what I was talking about. I am only talking about the Filipino. I will come to the American soldier later.

Mr. OLMSTED. I listened, and when the gentleman spoke of soldiers under the command of the Commander in Chief of the United States Army, I supposed they were our soldiers. I simply want to ask if he had heard of these genial Filipinos leaving General Luna with 32 shots and 40 bolo cuts dead at Aguinaldo's house.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. Yes; I remember how in Samar you made a howling wilderness by your Republican policy and killed everything in sight over 10 years of age.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. Will my colleague yield to me for a moment?

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. Make it short.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. I want to say to the gentleman from Tennessee that General Luna provoked that fight. That is the accurate fact; it is the recorded fact; it is official.

Mr. OLMSTED rose.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. I decline to yield any further. I do not want to appear as discourteous to the gentleman.

Mr. OLMSTED. That is all right.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. I think you mistook entirely what I was saying. I was and have been talking about the Filipinos, and not anybody under the command of American officers.

FILIPINOS NOT SAVAGES.

They have been so denominated by the President of the United States and others as an answer to our criticisms of the conduct of the war.

If it were true, it might modify our opinion of the situation, but the testimony of United States officials, as well as contemporaneous history, entirely disproves the charge. Governor Taft

speaks of them as a docile, bright, and ambitious race, though he thinks that at present they are not fitted for self-government. I pause here to bear willing testimony to the ability, purity of purpose, and patriotism of Governor Taft and the present acting governor, Gen. Luke E. Wright. I believe if they had been on the ground from the beginning, much useless sacrifice would have been saved and that they and their confrères have accomplished more than our armies. [Applause.]

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. You are right about that.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. The consensus of opinion among those who have had the best opportunities for observation is that the Filipinos are an imitative race, of considerable skill in various branches, docile, and easily influenced by kind treatment.

They have had among their number physicians of skill, lawyers of learning, and many men of high character and ability.

United States Consul Wildman, at Hongkong, in a communication to the Department of State, July 18, 1898, thus writes:

Mr. Wildman to Mr. Moore.

No. 63.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Hongkong, July 18, 1898.

SIR: I am taking the liberty of calling your attention to the continuous repetition of telegraphic information reaching this port that it is the policy of the United States Government to allow the Philippine Islands to return to Spain on the conclusion of the war.

Without placing any reliance in these statements, I desire to use them as a text upon which to respectfully submit the result of my experience with the leaders of the present Philippine insurgents, and to suggest the utter impossibility of Spain, even with the aid of the United States, ever regaining a foothold on these islands.

I have lived among the Malays of the Straits Settlements and have been an honored guest of the different sultanates. I have watched their system of government and have admired their intelligence, and I rank them high among the semicivilized nations of the earth. The natives of the Philippine Islands belong to the Malay race, and while there are very few pure Malays among their leaders, I think their stock has rather been improved than debased by admixture.

I consider the 40 or 50 Philippine leaders, with whose fortunes I have been very closely connected, both the superiors of the Malays and the Cubans. Aguinaldo, Agoncilla, and Sandico are all men who would all be leaders in their separate departments in any country, while among the wealthy Manila men, who live in Hongkong and who are spending their money liberally for the overthrow of the Spaniards and the annexation to the United States, men like the Cortes family and the Basa family, would hold their own among bankers and lawyers anywhere.

Admiral Dewey on August 29, 1898, at Manila thus wrote the Secretary of the Navy:

In a telegram sent to the Department on June 23 I expressed the opinion that "these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races." Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion.

Consul-General Williams at Manila, on the 16th of June, 1898, communicated this to the Department of State:

While the Spaniards cruelly and barbarously slaughter Filipinos taken in arms, and often noncombatants, women, and children, the insurgent victors, following American example, spare life, protect the helpless, and nurse, feed, and care for Spaniards taken prisoners and for Spanish wounded as kindly as they care for the wounded fallen from their own ranks.

Gen. Charles A. Whittier testified as follows before the United States Peace Commissioners at Paris:

Their conduct to their Spanish prisoners has been deserving of the praise of all the world. With hatred of priests and Spaniards, fairly held on account of the conditions before narrated, and with every justification to a savage mind for the most brutal revenge, I have heard of no instance of torture, murder, or brutality since we have been in the country.

All the testimony which I have quoted is official. It comes from American officers. The people of the country have a right to rely upon it as true. If it will serve to direct public attention from indiscriminate abuse of a people whose liberties we have encompassed and present to the forum of the American conscience a clear understanding of the facts as they have existed, my purpose will be accomplished.

The people are entitled to know the situation before they indorse the policy of a party which has brought the Republic perilously near the "Serbonian bog" of imperialistic empire, which the best thought of the nation, irrespective of partisanship, deplores, and from which the fathers of the Republic have warned with words of prophetic wisdom.

BEGINNING OF HOSTILITIES.

The protocol between Spain and the United States was signed on August 12 and Manila fell on August 14—two days following.

By the terms of the protocol the American forces held the city and the bay and harbor of Manila. This was provisional and subject to future conditions to be determined by the proposed treaty of peace.

This treaty of peace, by which we acquired the Philippine Islands, was ratified on February 6, and on February 4 hostilities began between the American forces and the revolutionists under Aguinaldo.

The exchange of ratifications between the two countries did not take place until the following summer.

Senator SPOONER, who ranks high as a constitutional lawyer, has admitted in the Senate that no title was acquired until the

exchange of ratifications had been consummated, and that the sovereignty we thus acquired did not relate back to the treaty itself.

So when hostilities began we had no title to the islands and no provisional right except to the city and harbor of Manila.

Aguinaldo had been refused admission into Manila for the reason, as explained afterwards, that the American officers feared his forces would burn and pillage Manila. They had never burned or pillaged before. Disappointed, but still believing in the sense of justice of our Government, he complained, but peacefully acquiesced. He was then ordered from one position to another. He never disobeyed an order. It is said he contemplated an attack on the American forces; this he denied. It is certain he never made an attack. Before the vision of the Republican party the dream of empire had risen, and the change was rapid. Our allies had become our enemies.

An inoffensive people who had trusted us became savages.

Dewey's guns, as they swept the Spanish navy from the sea, had found an echo in every patriot heart. When the next American arm was discharged, it brought misery, despair, and death, and wrung the cry of bitter agony from a hapless people. The hand that had been kissed in patriotic fervor smote with fearful impact.

Aguinaldo's forces had been gradually ordered back, and a "dead line" had been established some distance out from Manila by the American officers, beyond which the insurgents were ordered not to come.

It was for a disobedience of this order, when two Filipinos crossed the line, that the first shots were fired by an American soldier who killed one or both of the men.

Intermittent firing occurred that night on both sides, but during the whole time until the next day not one American soldier was killed, not one wounded. The next day the Americans advanced, and this was the only organized stand the insurrectionists ever made. The havoc was awful. Three thousand Filipinos were slain and only 250 American soldiers were killed and wounded. After that there was no longer war. The Filipinos scattered like a frightened covey when fired into by the hunter, and separated into small and detached bands. They were hunted and killed wherever found. They were often guilty of cruelty, and our reprisals were swift and terrible.

CONDUCT OF HOSTILITIES.

The sacrifices which the Republican party has demanded of the American Army have followed all wars of exploitation and unlawful conquest of a people. History has but repeated itself in the Philippine Islands. For empire it was willing to subject the American soldiers to the terrors of the bolo in the hands of a lurking foe. It was willing to see him resort to torture in reprisal.

The Army was ordered to the Philippine Islands. What occurred is a part of my disgrace, just as its imperishable glory, won on many a battlefield, is a part of my heritage.

There have passed into history two events of striking contrast. The *Oregon* had made her wonderful run around the world and was in the memorable engagement which strewed the sea with the wrecks of the flower of the Spanish navy. While the Spanish seamen were struggling in the water, our men raised a shout of human triumph, but gallant Captain Philip raised his voice and cried: "Don't cheer; the poor devils are dying." This was at Santiago, when we were fighting for human liberty.

General Smith, commanding the American forces in Samar, gave an order to kill all children over 10 years of age and to make the province a howling wilderness. This was in the Philippine Islands when we were fighting against human liberty.

Mr. GRAHAM. I would ask the gentleman whether he would condemn the Confederate army for the Fort Pillow massacre or the Quantrell outrages in Missouri?

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. Well, my friend, are you going to wave a bloody shirt here now?

Mr. GRAHAM. No; but when a gentleman takes a single instance like that and puts it up against the American Army, it is equal to the Fort Pillow massacre.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. I say that no Confederate officer in this world ever gave such an order.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. And there was no such massacre at Fort Pillow.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. I ask the gentleman not to interject irrelevant questions into my speech, and I will be glad indeed, if you have nothing more relevant to say, if you do not interrupt me further.

The answer to the charge against the Republican party for the train of evils which followed its quest of empire did not come from Arlington, once the home of Robert E. Lee, whose sword was stainless, when the President of the United States put in an unworthy plea against the South. It was a desecration of the place and the time. If the silence of the grave could have been lifted, there would have been a protest from the old soldiers of

the Union, calmly sleeping beneath the shade of the trees on the old estate of the knightly Southerner.

No fair-minded American of any section will accept the excuse for atrocities in the Philippines that lynchings have occurred in the South. They have also occurred in the North. They have been more frequent in the South, for the cause has been of more frequent occurrence, and for no other reason. They are to be deplored wherever they occur. One murder can never justify another, nor can just and lawful criticism of the Republican party be silenced by shallow appeals of sectionalism. No man willing to admit the truth will be deceived with the effort to divert the subject for partisan purposes.

It is another phase of imperialism affecting us at home, as it will affect us more and more in the future, when the right of free speech in a free country is sought to be abridged, when a military President resents with ill-concealed petulance the right of American representatives to criticize the results of a cruel policy which would exterminate a people.

I am an American first, and for my country right or wrong, but as an American representative I claim the privilege of insisting it shall be right.

Though every leaf were a tongue to cry "Thou must,"
He will not say the unjust thing is just.

CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT—OUGHT THEY TO GOVERN THEMSELVES?

Admiral Dewey has reported as the result of his observation of the people that they are better fitted for self-government than the Cubans. So have many others.

Capacity for self-government and capacity for good or the best government should not be confused. Before this war of conquest began I do not think any party, or, indeed, any American, denied the proposition that any people were fitted for self-government according to their standards. I believe the United States can give the Filipino people a better government according to our standards. That we can give them one better suited to their climatic conditions and environment may well be doubted. That we have the right by conquest to impose upon them one which they do not want is to be denied and regretted by every lover of liberty.

The old American idea was that self-government is the best government.

The Filipinos are better fitted to govern themselves than many of the South American republics were when they began independent national lives—as well fitted as Mexico was when she established a republic.

The Filipinos and the Japanese are of the same stock. The points of similarity are very marked. Japan, a still pagan country, has made in recent years rapid and wonderful strides in the arts of civilization.

This has been accomplished by them as an independent people, without foreign intervention or control of any sort.

Capacity for government can never be demonstrated until the experiment is tried. Kings have always denied it to hold subjects; the Republican party denies it to retain the Philippine Islands.

The historian Macaulay wrote:

Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free until they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water until he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.

REPUBLICAN JUSTIFICATION.

The justification which the Republican party interposes for its great national blunder is that we have a mission to perform and that honor and duty alike forbid us to recede.

This has been the refuge of every bloody conquest in the name of national honor. It was the excuse of the powers when they partitioned Poland. It was Bonaparte's plea when he shed rivers of blood and when the orphan's cry rose and followed him to bleak Helena. It was the justification of the supporters of the Crown for tyranny toward the American colonies. It was Spain's defense to her misrule and cruelties in Cuba. It is the plea of the Republican party in its lust for empire.

It is said that if we gave the Philippine people their independence, we would be the laughingstock of the world.

It is absurd.

We should have no ambition to become one of the family of colony-holding nations. The theory of our Government is forever opposed to the idea.

I believe if the Republican party had the virtue to resist the temptation of empire and the promise of spoil, it would add immeasurably to our reputation abroad and our honor at home.

Our occupancy of the Philippine Islands is one of might, not right. I do not believe in the doctrine, "They shall take who have the power, and they shall keep who can." We had the power to hold Cuba, but did not.

WHAT WILL WE GAIN?

But after we have blighted the hopes of a people and taken by force their country, what have we gained?

The sullen submission of a people who trusted us, a people who can never become American citizens; a land of torrid heat, where no American will go except in the spirit of adventure, where American homes will never be erected, where American ideas will never prevail.

We have incorporated a million and a half of Mohammedan Moors, practicing the most cruel form of human slavery. Our gain in trade is nothing compared to the cost of a war which will be necessary to eradicate slavery under the American flag.

We will be required to maintain a large standing army to hold an unwilling people and silence its protests.

We begin empire building 8,000 miles from home and are inevitably drawn into all future conflicts in the East. We will have an unprotected frontier which will tax the public purse to fortify and defend. We have by force entered into a national miscegenation. It will not improve the inferior people; it will weaken and lower us.

Mr. Chairman, the future of the Philippine Islands rests with the Congress of the United States.

The eminent lawyer and ex-President, Benjamin Harrison, in speaking of our territorial acquisitions, said:

A man whose protection from wrong rests wholly upon the benevolence of another or of a Congress is a slave—a man without rights.

In the name of national duty we are summoned to commit a national crime. We are about to make subjects a people whose aspirations for liberty we quenched forever. We will give them no laws we do not make for them, and give them no rights except at our pleasure. They are to be left floating hither and thither upon the vexed and uncertain sea of politics, subject ever to the caprice of parties and without constitutional chart or compass.

We leave the Filipino without a country. He is not of us and has no land of his own. We have taken from him the right ever to be free.

To do this we have weakened the moral forces of the Republic and begot indifference, if not contempt, for the Constitution and its sacred obligations. Do what you will, say what we will, when we weaken the Constitution we weaken American liberty; when we destroy it, American liberty is gone.

TWO IDEAS OF OUR DESTINY.

There are two ideas of the destiny of the Republic.

One has all the glamour of the "cloth of gold," of infinite change and fascination.

In its imperial sweep it comprehends a vast scope of empire, new theories of government, and new rights of man.

The vision which arises is alluring and fills the imagination with the splendors of martial glory and the rich spoils of conquest.

But there is another destiny, wrought out of constant purpose and the old notions of human rights and republican self-restraint.

It recalls our early struggles for liberty and the old Continentals who faltered not.

It believes that "we are, and of right ought to be, free and independent," and would not deny that right to any other people under the canopy of the sky.

It would still guide the Republic in the path which our patriots blazed in the New World for the feet of liberty-loving men to tread the ways of everlasting glory.

It looks upon our mighty achievement and beholds the sublime results of human freedom.

It turns its back upon the empire and points to Bunker Hill.

It listens to the voice of no strange god, but worships in the temple of the fathers and at the shrine where they knelt in humble reverence.

To destroy human freedom is not our destiny.

To perpetuate it at home, to be its friend in all the world, is the high mission and true destiny of the American Republic. [Long-continued applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee rise.

The motion was agreed to

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GILLET of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill S. 2295, and had come to no resolution thereon.

ISTHMIAN CANAL.

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 3110, to provide for the construction of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, with Senate amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 3110, for the purpose of putting the same into conference.

Mr. HEPBURN. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that the Senate amendment may be nonconcurrent in and the request of the Senate for a conference be acceded to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that the amendments of the Senate be disagreed to and that the conference asked for by the Senate be agreed to.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, I trust that no one who favors the Spooner amendment will object to this request. I should object to it myself but for the fact that I regard this as a pro forma proceeding affording the speediest way of bringing the question before the House. I have personal assurance from the gentleman from Iowa that every proper effort will be made to bring back a conference report at an early date, and when that conference report comes those who desire to make or support a motion to concur in the Senate substitute will have an opportunity to do so, if the conferees do not agree. I so understand.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I trust that no objection will be made by those who favor the Nicaragua route, and I hope the conferees of the House will fight to the last ditch to bring the Nicaragua proposition back into the House and to defeat the Senate amendment.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The SPEAKER appointed as conferees on the part of the House Mr. HEPBURN, Mr. FLETCHER, and Mr. DAVEY of Louisiana.

PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT.

The Committee of the Whole resumed its session (Mr. GILLET of Massachusetts in the chair).

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I yield one hour to the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN].

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the Almighty Father, the Giver of all that is good and beautiful on this mundane sphere, that He has endowed me with an optimistic disposition. I thank Him day by day that He has not afflicted me with a soul that goes everlastingly and eternally snooping around to discover that which is bad and vile, dishonest and dishonorable, debased and vicious in mankind generally and my friends, neighbors, and countrymen in particular. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] I confess frankly that I am an optimist. I love to look upon the bright side of life. I love to believe that my fellow-men are sincere and honest; that women are pure and virtuous; that this old world of ours is one of sunshine, and laughter, and joy, and happiness. I would "rather be in trust o'erconfident a thousand times deceived than wrongly once wound with ungenerous doubt the breast of Truth." But, above all else, I have an abiding faith in the ability, the honesty, the integrity, the loyalty, and the patriotism of my fellow-citizens. [Applause.] I firmly believe that no condition will ever arise in our country's history that will baffle the skill and the ability of American statesmanship.

Great and grave problems have heretofore frequently presented themselves during the one hundred and twenty-six years of our national life, and simultaneously with the problems have arisen the men to solve them. Our annals are so replete with the names of our country's illustrious sons, who, when the emergency arose, grappled with the conditions that have presented themselves boldly, honestly, fearlessly, faithfully, aye, and successfully, that it would be invidious for me to particularize. We have a right to be proud of our past, and, judging by that past, we are justified in having unbounded faith in the future of the Republic and the honor of her citizens.

But there has never been a crisis in the affairs of this nation that did not bring with it an army of objectors and malcontents, whose croakings and dire forebodings of coming evil and national disruption, up to the present time at least, have happily never been realized, and my optimistic and prophetic soul tells me that such vaporings never will be realized, but that our country shall endure among the nations of the earth and shall continue the beacon light of liberty, even to the last syllable of recorded time.

Why, sir, there are some men so peculiarly constituted that they are ready to predict failure for any progressive movement, be it in science, art, literature, or government. The word "success" has no place in their vocabulary. It is such men as these who, when Fulton announced to an interested world that he had perfected a steamship and would give an exhibition on the Hudson River to demonstrate the success of his invention, shook their heads doubtfully and solemnly said that it was all simply a waste of time; that the machine would not work. But we all know that it did work, and to-day the steamship is rapidly driving the sailing vessel off the seas; it has revolutionized the ocean carrying trade; it has facilitated the expansion of our foreign commerce; it has brought the uttermost nations of the earth into a closer relationship, and it has enabled civilization to spread its luminous rays even to the darkest quarters of the universe.

Again, when Samuel F. B. Morse came to Congress and asked

for a small appropriation for the construction of a telegraph line between the cities of Washington and Baltimore, in order that he might prove the great worth of his marvelous invention, there were in those days learned members—aye, honest and most worthy members, if you please—who bitterly opposed the measure, because they believed it to be a waste of public money and that the machine would not work. But it did work, and to-day, with submarine cables and a network of wires, overhead and underground, extending north, east, south, and west, the electric spark literally puts "a girdle around the earth in thirty minutes." The electric telegraph is in our age and time as necessary to our daily existence as is the very air we breathe or the water we drink.

And, sir, I verily believe that if some of these pessimists had been present in the Garden of Eden when the Almighty took a rib out of Adam and created Eve they would have shaken their heads dolefully and would have sorrowfully exclaimed, "It's no use; she won't work." [Great laughter and applause.]

And so, Mr. Chairman, with hundreds of historic instances before me to convince me of the existence of that characteristic which Edgar Allen Poe has so graphically described as "The Imp of the Perverse," I feel satisfied that no matter how humane, no matter how patriotic, no matter how honorable a measure to promote the welfare of the people of the Philippines might be, it was reasonable to expect that it would be characterized by some of our political opponents as "vicious in principle," "bad in its details," "unjust," "inexpedient," "indefensible." But, sir, the minority membership of the Committee on Insular Affairs has at least had the courage to admit "that three centuries of Spanish dominion have destroyed all self-government in the Philippine Islands, and that its people at this time are unprepared for its exercise;" and I for one desire to congratulate and felicitate them in having thus boldly, honestly, and frankly stated the conditions that every fair-minded man must admit actually exist in that distant archipelago.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. Will the gentleman read the concluding sentence?

Mr. KAHN. The gentleman can read it in his own time, or some gentleman on your side can. It is part of the record.

It was my pleasure to have visited the Philippine Islands last summer. I spent five weeks there. I met and conversed with hundreds of natives of those islands, including Aguinaldo, Paterno, Arellano, Torres, Mapa, Tavera, Yanko, Dr. Albert, Cailles, Calderon, Buencamino, Herrera, Fabie, Rosalio, and men of like standing and character, as well as many of the common people, and I can honestly say that never once during my entire sojourn among them did a single Filipino tell me that he or his people asked for or even wanted independence.

On the contrary, most of their leaders repeatedly admitted to me that they were incapable of self-government, and that they were more than content to be under the American flag. Indeed, Señor Fabie, who is an excellent English scholar and speaks our language very fluently—who is one of the leading men in Manila—said to me that he ventured the prediction that in twenty-five years from now, when his people shall have fully learned to know and understand the Americans as he understands them, when they shall have become acquainted with our history as he is, when they shall have learned to know our system of government as he does, there would not be a single Filipino who would not be ready to lay down his life for the American flag as any native of the United States. [Applause.] And that sentiment, Mr. Chairman, was echoed by every one of the 20 Filipinos present at the interview. But while I am on this subject of my visit to the Philippines I think it fit and proper at this time to place before the House some of my personal experiences while in those distant islands.

It has frequently been asserted in public prints and from the rostrum that Admiral Dewey and Consul-General Wildman had made some definite promises to Aguinaldo respecting the independence of the Philippines, and that subsequently these promises had been repudiated. I had an extended interview with the former president of the alleged Philippine republic, at which were present Chaplain McKinnon, of the United States Army, and three ladies, one of whom acted as interpreter, besides myself. I told him frankly that it had been frequently asserted in the United States that pledges that had been made to him by Admiral Dewey and Mr. Wildman had been broken; that the American people believed in fairness and honest dealing, and that if such promises as had been made to him had been violated, he owed it to himself, his countrymen, and to history to state what these promises were.

I assured him that, so far as I was concerned, I would most certainly report them to my countrymen. He then admitted that he had had no promises whatever. [Applause on the Republican side.] Subsequently General Funston and Lieutenants Mitchell and Hazard, of the United States Army, told me that Aguinaldo had made similar statements to them—that he had

had no agreements with either Admiral Dewey or Mr. Wildman; and quite recently Buencamino, the former secretary of state of the Philippine republic, informed me that at Tarlac, island of Luzon, Aguinaldo admitted to the insurgent leaders that neither Dewey nor Wildman had made him any promises. Buencamino stated to me that after this admission Aguinaldo's prestige waned materially. But I have here, and I desire to read at this time, a letter from Aguinaldo to Consul-General Wildman, which, to my mind at least, ought to set the matter at rest once and for all.

BACOR, CAVITE, August 7, 1898.

MR. ROUNSEVELLE WILDMAN,

Consul-General of the United States of America in Hongkong.

MY DEAR CONSUL: I thank you sincerely for your kind letter of the 25th of July last. I am forced to write you in confidence, in order to avoid the rupture of friendly relations which should exist between the United States and the Filipinos, convinced, as I am, that said rupture would be to the last degree prejudicial to both.

I understand that the Filipinos would gain much with the support and aid of the United States of America, and at the same time the power and riches of the latter would be considerably augmented by a close union with the former; but you, with your ability and your great experience, will understand the necessity for clearing up and defining those relations by means of a formal convention.

It is true that the North American forces have made protestations of friendship and concord to the people, but the officials act as though those protestations did not exist, performing acts of government and coercion in the name of their leaders. The people see those acts with extreme disgust and ask for the convention which is to serve as a guide of conduct, and I am not able to say that it does not exist, fearing that I will not be able to restrain the popular excitement.

For this reason I trust to your kindness to me and ask that you bring to bear on your Government all your strength and influence, so that it will understand that it is not at all right to decide upon the fate and future of the Filipino people without considering their wishes, duly represented by my government.

I am, most sincerely,

Signed by Aguinaldo, as per margin.

MR. BARTLETT. May I ask the gentleman a question?

MR. KAHN. Certainly.

MR. BARTLETT. Do I understand the gentleman to say that that is a copy of a copy-book letter or a copy of the original?

MR. KAHN. It is a copy of the letter found in the "letters-sent" book.

MR. LITTLEFIELD. A letter-press book?

MR. KAHN. Yes; the "letters-sent" press book.

MR. BARTLETT. May I ask the gentleman another question?

MR. KAHN. Yes; certainly.

MR. BARTLETT. What became of the original letter? Has Mr. Wildman ever stated that he received any such letter?

MR. KAHN. If you will remember, Mr. Wildman was on his way to the United States and had a great deal of important information, documents, and so on, and on the 22d of February, 1901, the ship upon which he was, the *Rio de Janeiro*, struck a rock in the Golden Gate, outside of San Francisco, and went to the bottom.

MR. BARTLETT. I understand that. My question was whether Mr. Wildman, who lived two years after that letter seems to have been written—and I do not mean to insinuate that it was not—ever acknowledged the receipt of it?

MR. KAHN. I really do not know whether he made any acknowledgment of the receipt of it or not.

MR. BARTLETT. The letter was written in August, 1898?

MR. KAHN. Written August 7, 1898, and Aguinaldo says: "I write to you in confidence."

MR. BARTLETT. The gentleman can state whether any such letter as that was ever found amongst the papers.

MR. KAHN. I do not know. The letter was furnished me by Captain Taylor of the Army.

MR. BARTLETT. I understood the gentleman to say that the statement of Captain Taylor was that that letter book was on file in Manila now.

MR. KAHN. Yes; it is there now.

Mark this language, Mr. Chairman: "The people see these acts with extreme disgust, and ask for the convention which is to serve for a guide of conduct, and I am unable to say that it does not exist, fearing that I will not be able to restrain the popular excitement." Here is a tacit admission that the people had been stirred up by this wily chief under the belief that he had a promise of some kind or another, presumably that the people were to be given independence, and that he did not have the moral courage to tell them that he had lied. That is the plain English of it.

Mr. Chairman, during the second session of the Fifty-sixth

¹ Translated under direction Capt. J. R. M. Taylor, Fourteenth Infantry. There is no doubt as to the authenticity of this letter. It is translated from the Spanish copy of the original in the letter-sent book of the secretary of state of the so-called insurgent government, captured in 1899, in November, I think, by the United States forces in pursuit of Aguinaldo after he left Tarlac. The book is authenticated in many places by the signature of Mabini, and covers the period June 28, 1898, to September 6, 1899. The book was in my possession in Manila, and I found it myself in a mass of other papers and am absolutely convinced of its authenticity. It is on file in Manila.

JOHN R. M. TAYLOR,
Captain, Fourteenth Infantry.

Congress a distinguished member of the House informed me that while Sixto Lopez, an agent of the insurgent government in the Philippines, was in Washington the latter had admitted to him that when the leaders of the insurrection against Spain had signed the treaty of Biacnabato they did so with a mental reservation, and that they did not consider the treaty as binding upon them in any way, shape, or manner. And so I asked Aguinaldo during the course of my interview, he having been one of the signers of that instrument, whether he, too, had affixed his signature with the mental reservation that if the time should be again opportune he would renew the struggle, but he unequivocally said "No; I signed in good faith." "You gave up all idea of a Philippine republic after having signed that treaty?" I asked. "Yes," he replied. "Then," said I, "when you took up arms against the Americans and again proclaimed a Philippine republic, was it because you feared the Americans would treat your countrymen more tyrannically than the Spaniards had done?" "I did not fear it, but my countrymen did, and I am always ready to respond to the call of my countrymen."

Mr. Chairman, I venture the assertion that the great majority of his countrymen did not know a blessed thing about America or Americans. Indeed, a most estimable lady, formerly of California, one of the first American teachers to enter the service of the public schools of Manila, told me that when she took charge of her classes she asked her pupils the question, "How many continents are there?" and the reply was, "Three; Europe, Asia, and Africa." And this, mark you, was not the answer of one pupil, but of the entire class, for under the system of education that prevailed there under the Spanish régime the classes always responded in unison. There was no such thing as an individual recitation.

Further investigation by this lady developed the fact that the existence of North and South America, their peoples, political divisions, and forms of government were practically as unknown to her pupils as was the very existence of America unknown to the civilized world on that memorable day of August, 1492, when Columbus with his caravels sailed from the port of Palos, Spain, out upon the unknown seas. So that, Mr. Chairman, if the people of the Philippines were afraid that the Americans would tyrannize over them it was not because of any knowledge that they had upon the subject, but because of the judicious and systematic lying that had been indulged in by these interested Filipino patriots—God save the mark!—in their efforts to instill a spirit of hatred and dread and vengeance into the minds and hearts of an otherwise friendly and confiding people.

I desire to say, further, in this connection that while I was at Iloilo, on the island of Panay, I had the honor of meeting over a hundred of the leading natives, including the provincial secretary, the presidente and town councilors, and the clerk and district attorney of the court of first instance, at a public reception there. As the House is doubtless aware, the inhabitants of Iloilo are, for the most part, Visayans. But prior to the breaking out of hostilities between the Filipinos and the Americans a number of Tagalog leaders had visited the island of Panay to stir up the fires of insurrection and revolt among the peaceful natives of that island. At this reception many of these Visayans informed me that the Americans had been most grossly misrepresented to them; that they had been told that we were infinitely worse than the Spaniards, but they were now convinced that we had been infamously lied about and most cruelly maligned. Since civil government had been inaugurated in their province they had become absolutely assured of the desire of the Americans to treat the Filipinos honestly and fairly, and they were now proud to be under our flag. Indeed, sir, some of them did not hesitate to say that they would much rather have American officials over them than their own countrymen.

And while I am upon this subject, Mr. Chairman, I desire to cite another instance that came under my personal observation where the veil of deceit, intimidation, and lies had been lifted from the eyes of the native population, which had been deceived as to the true character and purpose of the American people. While in Santa Cruz, in the province of Laguna, on the 19th of July, 1901, I met Lieut. Col. Julio Infante, who had been one of the commanders of the forces under General Cailles, one of the leaders of the insurrection. Infante also told me that the Americans had been lied about; but when his chief and the latter's followers found out that Americans were not the monsters they had been painted, and that the Civil Commission was passing the exceedingly liberal laws which are now in force in many parts of the archipelago, they concluded that the purposes of the Americans were honorable and humane, and they unconditionally surrendered and have been loyally supporting the American administration ever since. General Cailles himself subsequently went among the insurgent chiefs and induced some of them likewise to lay down their arms.

Why, sir, when this whole wretched business shall have been

fully investigated, when the light of truth shall have penetrated into our every transaction, when all the facts shall have become known to the people of the United States, they will shudder to think that such duplicity and deceit could have been practiced upon the ignorant masses of the Philippines by men who professed to be patriotic defenders of their fatherland, and whom some of our anti-imperialistic friends have been trying to canonize as heroes and martyrs.

Mr. Chairman, it was also my good fortune to meet, among others, during my stay in Manila, Señor Felipe Calderon, the author of the Malolos constitution. I consider him one of their ablest men. He certainly can not be accused of favoring the cause of the Americans because he has been honored with a civil appointment, for he told me that he had refused and would continue to refuse any position that might be offered him, in order that he could act independently and not have his motives questioned. I asked him frankly whether his people were able to govern themselves, and, without a moment's hesitation, he replied, "No; they are nothing but children." And yet there are men in our own country who have probably never seen a native Filipino in their lives who tell us in all seriousness that we ought to withdraw from the islands—we ought to "scuttle"—and leave these people to work out their own salvation.

Sir, to my mind, after having seen these people, after having conversed with many of their leaders, the proposition is infamous! They do not ask for, nor do they want independence. Governor Taft in his testimony before the Senate committee said that he believed that Señor Pedro A. Paterno was one of the few natives who believed in a Philippine republic. If that be the case, then Señor Paterno has recently changed his mind, for he told me in his own home on August 17, 1901, in the presence of some twenty others, that his countrymen did not desire independence. "But they want home rule," he said. "What do you mean by that?" I inquired. "Do you mean that you desire a form of government similar to our State governments?" "Yes, that is exactly what we want," said he. "That would necessitate the adoption of a State constitution," I rejoined, "and I want you to tell me frankly whether a constitution that would be suitable to the condition of the inhabitants of the island of Luzon would meet the requirements of the situation in Panay or Mindanao?" He promptly replied, "No."

And anybody who knows anything about that country knows that it would not. Paterno admitted that he had not looked at the matter from that standpoint, and his statement in this regard fully bears out the testimony of Generals Otis, Hughes, and MacArthur, who were on the ground at a very early period of our occupancy, who had frequent interviews with all their leaders, and who testified that one of the difficulties encountered in dealing with the Filipinos was the absolute uncertainty among the latter as to what they really did want. Their views were visionary. They did not seem to know what they wanted.

Mr. DINSMORE. Will my friend from California permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; if it is a question.

Mr. DINSMORE. If the Filipinos did not desire independence, and if you insist that they made war on our forces, will you kindly tell us what was their motive in making war upon us?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, that was long before they knew the Americans as they do to-day, and when this very mendacious system of lying was being carried on in the islands. [Applause on the Republican side.] But since they have learned to know us better—since they know that we are there for their welfare and their good, they say, as I stated at the very beginning of my address, that they do not want independence, but that they are content to be under the American flag.

Mr. DINSMORE. Then, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. KAHN. I decline to yield further.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Illinois. Will the gentleman allow one interruption there?

Mr. KAHN. I do not want to be discourteous.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Illinois. We will extend your time.

Mr. KAHN. If I have time remaining when I have finished my address, I shall be very glad to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield further.

Mr. KAHN. But day after day the natives of the Philippines are beginning to know us better; day after day they realize that we are there for their welfare and advancement. I had a goodly number of personal experiences where the natives volunteered the information that the Americans were "mucho buenos" (very good). I remember, among other pleasurable incidents of my trip, visiting the little town of Pagsanjan, in Laguna Province, which had been one of the hotbeds of the insurrection. I had been informed that the women had been even more vehement for independence than the men. On that memorable 4th of July, 1901, when General Cailles marched through the town toward Santa Cruz, where the surrender was to take place, the women and children strewed the

path of the insurrecto patriots with flowers, the while tears of sympathy and regret at the failure of the cause streamed down their cheeks.

Two weeks later, on the 19th of July, I entered the town with my little party of American friends, unaccompanied by a single soldier, and the same children greeted us with cheers and a hearty "Hollo!" spoken in our own language, the same women stood at their windows, and with smiling faces waved their handkerchiefs to us in friendly greeting, and one would never have realized that there had ever been any other sentiment than friendship and peace between Americans and Filipinos in that recently pacified little community. [Applause.] Such were my experiences in the Philippines.

And so I have been rather astonished at the statements made from time to time by my friends on the other side of the Chamber, who likewise had visited the islands last summer. They seemed to find little or nothing to commend in the islands, the native inhabitants, or the American soldiers and civilians who were there in the service of their country, and I understand from their remarks that they favor the abandonment of our policy and the withdrawal of our forces as speedily as possible. Sir, in that connection I am reminded of a little story that Max O'Rell, the brilliant French wit and satirist, told in the course of his lecture on "Jonathan and his Continent." In his inimitable way he stated that he had occasion to visit Milwaukee some years ago and soon after his arrival there he was invited to listen to an address by a Mr. Johnson on "Paris, the Wicked City."

Being a Parisian, Mr. O'Rell was naturally interested in learning what an American would have to say about the gay capital of France and he promptly accepted the invitation. The lecture was delivered in a church and Mr. O'Rell was given a front seat. Mr. Johnson commenced his discourse and took his auditors from one den of iniquity into another. He pictured the wretchedness, the misery, the filth, and the licentiousness of "Gay Paree," and ended with a magnificent peroration admonishing all God-fearing, Christian people, as they valued their souls, to abstain from visiting that "hell of immorality."

By this time Mr. O'Rell concluded that Paris needed a defender, and he asked permission of one of the elders of the congregation to say a few words in reply, which permission was cheerfully accorded him. "I never knew until this hour how wicked and demoralizing Paris was, but in all fairness I desire to ask Mr. Johnson a few questions. Did he go to the Louvre and look upon the magnificent paintings of the masters of the Renaissance and also those of our own era? And was he not inspired by the sight? Did he look upon the masterpieces of the world's great sculptors, and did not his heart beat in rapturous admiration at those wonderful creations of the sculptor's art? But if he did not see all this, where did Mr. Johnson go?"

"Did he go to the Champs Elysée and listen to the splendid military bands discoursing their concords of sweet sounds, the productions of the world's greatest musical composers, for the edification of Jacques Bonhomme and his family, who stood lost in admiration and listened with wrapt attention to the soul-stirring strains? If not, where did Mr. Johnson go? Did he visit the Church of the Invalides and look down on the tomb of the great Napoleon? And did not that sight inspire him with a melancholy awe—the while he rapidly reviewed the remarkable career of that remarkable man? If not, where did Mr. Johnson go? Did he visit the cemetery of Père la Chaise, and lay his tribute upon the graves of Héloïse and Abelard, that Mecca for all those happy mortals whom Cupid's arrow had set ablaze with the heavenly fires of true love? If not, where did Mr. Johnson go?" And just about that time a little wizened man in the rear of the congregation arose and in a thin, piping voice exclaimed: "Johnson, for the Lord's sake, where did you go?" [Laughter and applause.]

And I have often been constrained, Mr. Chairman, after listening to the remarks of some of my colleagues on the other side who visited the Philippine Islands last summer, to ask them, "For the Lord's sake, where did you go?" [Laughter.]

For myself I believe that every American can be proud of what has been accomplished during the brief period of American occupation. Schools have been established in all the islands. In the Spanish days the principal schools were at Manila, Iloilo, and a few of the larger cities. The masses had to send their children to those places to get a smattering of an education. Under the American administration the schools have gone to the masses, and there is scarcely a town of any importance that has not to-day its free public school. There are 200,000 pupils already enrolled, as against a maximum enrollment of 30,000 during the Spanish occupation. Besides this, there are 20,000 adults attending night schools in the city of Manila, all eager to learn our language.

In the city of Jolo, on the island of that name, I found that there had never been a school of any kind until the Americans came, and to-day the native children are learning the rudiments of the English language at an American school in that city.

We have established civil government in a greater part of the archipelago, and in a large number of instances the governors of the provinces are native Filipinos. In those provinces which I visited where civil government had been established the natives were contented and happy. They were resuming their various occupations in the fields, and agriculture, the principal pursuit of the inhabitants, which had been neglected since 1896, was again attracting the attention of the husbandman. In the cities the people were employed at more remunerative wages than they had ever known.

The natives have been taught the necessity for sanitation, and in the city of Manila the death rate had been reduced one-half during the short time that our country's flag had floated over its ramparts. [Applause.]

Bands of ladrones and tulisanes were being dispersed everywhere, and to-day the islands are probably freer from roving bands of banditti than ever before in their entire history. Much of this is due to the efforts of the native constabulary, which was organized during the time that I was in the islands, and which has to-day developed into a splendidly equipped and excellently conducted branch of the public service. The native officers and men in the force have in numerous instances sacrificed their lives in the discharge of their public duties.

Courts of justice have been established, where for the first time in the history of the archipelago justice was being equally administered between rich and poor alike. I visited some of these courts and witnessed their procedure. Some of the natives did not hesitate to state that they preferred Americans for the bench. The writ of habeas corpus, which was entirely foreign to their former jurisprudence, has been introduced, and one enthusiastic Filipino attorney told me that this beneficent writ alone was a greater safeguard to their personal liberties than the most radical insurrecto had ever dreamed of.

Roads and highways were being built, and bridges were being constructed, all with a view of bringing the various towns and cities into a closer relationship with each other. Submarine cables, telegraph and telephone lines were being laid to the various islands, and the most remote barrios and pueblos were being brought into direct communication with the capital. Harbor facilities were being improved, and new works projected that, when completed, will give the city of Manila the finest harbor in the Orient.

These were some of the results of American pluck and courage and progress and patriotism that came under my personal observation, and I for one feel proud of the manner in which Americans have discharged the great burdens and obligations which they assumed at the time of the annexation of the islands. Instead of being a dark blot on our history, as some of the opponents of the Administration have been pleased to characterize the expansion policy, I boldly contend that future generations will applaud the patriotic endeavors of our countrymen in their noble efforts to bring peace and education, enlightenment and justice, to this poor downtrodden people that, until we came, had only known three hundred years of ignorance and superstition, tyranny and oppression. Sir, I contend that it is one of the brightest pages that illumines and will continue to illumine the annals of any nation that has ever existed. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, we have heard much about the cruelties that have been practiced upon this unhappy people. The acts of individual officers and soldiers have been paraded before the world as though the perpetration of such outrages were the rule and not the exception. Our whole Army seems, at times, to have come in for more or less verbal castigation. I for one desire to raise my voice in protest against such sweeping charges or assertions. There may have been instances of cruelty now and then among individuals. But that is no reason for a wholesale condemnation of the entire Army.

Why, sir, I remember several notorious instances of cruelty and viciousness which occurred among the volunteers quartered at San Francisco—cruelties practiced in our own country and upon our own people—and yet I do not charge their responsibility upon the entire Army. I remember one day when a private, a member of the Tennessee regiment temporarily stationed at San Francisco, obtained a few hours' furlough, and boarding a street car, he visited several low grogeries, where he proceeded to gratify his appetite for whisky. Crazed with the liquor, he entered a public market where an inoffensive young German was wrapping up a roll of butter. It was almost the noon hour, and the young man's wife and child were awaiting the home coming of the husband and father for the noonday meal.

All unconscious of danger, he was busily engaged in the details of his daily vocation, when, without a word of warning, this brute of a soldier whipped his revolver out of his pocket and shot the market clerk through the forehead. He fell dead instantly. A more wanton, cruel murder was never committed in the distant Philippines; but I do not on account of the act of that one man

desire to condemn his entire regiment. On the contrary, I have the highest admiration for the valor and daring of its officers and men. It was the same regiment that disembarked at Iloilo, after having already boarded the transport preparatory to sailing for the United States, disembarked because they had heard that the insurgents were making preparations to storm the town, and they did not propose to leave until the enemies of their country had been crushingly defeated.

It was this same regiment that contributed 300 of its members to the then newly organized regiments in the Philippines—300 men who had concluded, after their term of service as volunteers had expired, to reenlist and help finish up the work of pacification begun under the glorious Stars and Stripes. These are the deeds of that regiment that I love to recall; these are the acts of patriotism and valor that I love to recount, and the single act of that single soldier in San Francisco can never dim the luster of the heroic conduct of that noble company nor mar the glory of its patriotic deeds. [Loud applause.]

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; I yield for a question.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. You say that it was a soldier of the First Tennessee Regiment that did that?

Mr. KAHN. I do.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. Where was it done?

Mr. KAHN. In San Francisco.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. Did not a jury of your own city acquit that young man?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, sir. Now, listen to me. They did it on the ground that the liquor which he drank had been drugged, but he has shot another man in the city of New York since then.

I believe General Sherman remarked that "war is hell!" It has undoubtedly been truly said that war itself is cruel; and if our soldiers have been guilty at times of excesses, while I do not condone their guilt, and while I believe that strict punishment should be meted out to the offenders, I can not forget that our men are fighting against foes who themselves have been guilty of the grossest treachery and cruelty. I am informed by Army officers that it is a common thing for men from the same town to enlist and, if possible, to enter the same company.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. KAHN. The hour is very late or I should be willing to yield to you.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. What I was desiring to ask you about was the matter that you just referred to, and if you go to another matter, I would not like to go back to it.

Mr. KAHN. I should like to finish my remarks, and then I will be pleased to answer any question the gentleman may ask. Sometimes brothers will be serving in the same company; where enlisted men have been friends before their enlistment the probabilities are that the ties of friendship will grow closer still.

Soldiers, after all, are only human beings, with all a human being's strength and weaknesses. It is reasonable to suppose that when a soldier finds the mutilated and bleeding body of his tentmate whom he had learned to love even as a brother—the tentmate whom he had left an hour before full of the spirit of life, the vigor of manhood—I say when he finds his comrade in arms treacherously slain and horribly mutilated, perhaps that soldier is not able altogether to smother his emotions, and he may commit some acts which in his calmer moments he would never have dreamed of perpetrating. I remember very well a speech of my distinguished friend from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], delivered upon the subject of lynching during the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress. I will read a paragraph or two at this time:

Mississippi had one lynching not long ago. It occurred in my district. Now, my friends, I want to tell you about it, not in justification, but in extenuation and explanation, and I want each man, when I tell him the facts in that case, to probe his own heart and ask himself if the veneer of civilization that is upon all of us would not have been scratched clear through and if perhaps he himself would not have gone with the crowd that did the lynching under the excitement of the moment.

A man leaves his home—a farmer. He goes down to the little town of Canton to market and sells his crop. It is rumored in the neighborhood that he had brought money from the market town the week before and that it is in his house. That night six or seven negro men break into the house, ravish his daughter and his wife, and then manacle them and tie them together, and not only them, but the little children—one of them, I believe, four or five years of age—manacle them down in the center of that house and set it on fire and burn them all up, hoping that the fire had done away with all traces of the crime.

One of the negroes happened to have a peculiar foot, which led to tracking him. That led to crimination and recrimination among the criminals and to a confession. It led to confessions from others. The people arose and lynched those men, and while they were lynching them they burned one of them, a voice coming from the crowd that he ought to receive the punishment himself which he had meted out to this innocent, helpless woman, her helpless daughters, and her helpless little children. It was a negro who, filled with indignation, asked and obtained the privilege of setting the match to the pyre.

I confess that I am unable to answer the question propounded by my eloquent and distinguished friend for whom I have a very high

regard, as to what I would have done in the case he depicts, under the excitement of the moment, but I do know that the American soldier is like himself and like all of us, a human being with all a human being's frailties and passions. He is engaged in fighting a people who themselves eschew the arts of civilized warfare; he is himself often the victim of the grossest cruelty; he is no doubt, "under particular circumstances," so incensed and "provoked" that his poor "human nature can not resist"—and I protest that when you undertake to throw the mantle of charity over the refined and cultured art of lynching in this country it might be well to inquire a little into the provocations that prompted a few of our men to forget the glorious principles for which their country stands and to bring disgrace upon the uniform they wear without at the same time besmirching the good name and fame of thousands of those others whose every act in dealing with their country's foes was inspired by principles of humanity and forbearance. [Loud applause.]

And while upon this subject I desire to give the House a sample of the cruelties inflicted upon our boys in blue, which was called to my attention while I was at Calboyag, in the island of Samar.

Samar is a densely wooded island, with many water courses and few roads. There are a number of trails, however, and on several occasions the natives had dug pits along these trails, while in the bottom of the pits would be firmly placed exceedingly sharp and pointed bamboo splints about 12 inches in length. The pit would then be covered over with a thin, tough paper, which in turn would be covered over with a thin layer of earth and grass. In quite a number of instances soldiers fell into these pits, and the sharpened bamboo splints not only passed through the soles of their shoes but also through the very feet of the soldiers, making a most frightful and ghastly wound. That is simply an example of some of the methods of warfare employed by the insurgents in the island of Samar.

But I desire to say that so far as I was able to see—and I believe that outward appearances are frequently an indication of actual conditions—in all the towns which I visited where soldiers were quartered the relationship between them and the natives seemed to be most friendly. It was no uncommon thing to see one of our boys sitting in front of one of the native shops, laughing and chatting in the most friendly manner with a dozen Filipinos of both sexes. In many instances Filipinos told me that American officers and soldiers were their friends, and that they were not at all like the Spaniards. They did not treat the natives contemptuously as the Castilians had done, neither did they take anything from the natives for their own use without first buying and paying for it. This was the information I received in the islands regarding the character and conduct of the American soldiers there. Those are some of the facts that were presented to me, and I venture the assertion, and I challenge contradiction, that they truly represent the conditions that prevail generally throughout the archipelago.

Mr. Chairman, it must be the wish and hope of every American citizen that the perpetrators of cruelties and outrages in the Philippines be severely punished; but for the love of our country and its honor and fame let us stop and stop effectually this effort to besmirch the reputation of our entire Army, the integrity of its officers, and the valor of its men because of the conduct of a pitiful few of those officers and men.

Mr. Chairman, it is proposed by the minority that we withdraw from the islands in eight years and that we then proclaim the Philippines a free and independent nation. I desire in this connection and at this time to read again from the paragraph of the "Views of the minority" as to the ability of the Filipinos to govern themselves:

Three centuries of Spanish dominion have destroyed all self-government in the Philippines, and its people at this time are unprepared for its exercise.

Here is a flat, frank, fair admission that three centuries of Spanish oppression have made the natives incapable of self-government; and then, in the very next breath, our Democratic brethren declare, in effect, that with the stroke of a pen, after eight years of tutelage in American methods of government, this unfortunate people can be elevated to a plane that it has taken the Anglo-Saxon races eight hundred years of progressive civilization to attain. [Applause.] I understand that the minority has since agreed to modify its views so that we shall retire in four years. Here is a tribute to Americans as teachers and to the aptitude of the Filipinos as students that I hardly expected to find coming from the ranks of the pessimistic Democracy. But the large majority of Filipinos tell us that they do not want independence; that they want to continue under the American flag.

Sir, I am everlastingly opposed to declaring any such policy of "scuttle" at this time. The minority need not delude themselves with the fatuous belief that their proposition, if adopted, will stop whatever insurrection there may be left remaining in the islands. On the contrary, it will give the irreconcilables—such of them as may be left—occasion for renewed activity. The printing presses of the Hongkong junta will again be kept busy

grinding out new proclamations and pronouncements from those Filipino jawbone patriots who fear to risk their own precious necks in the cause, and who, from a safe harbor of refuge, endeavor to stir up insurrection and strife in the islands, so that later on they may—as simon-pure, unwhipped, uncaptured, unreconstructed patriots—establish their rights to the jobs and the places in their native land as soon as the minority's programme of "scuttle" can be finally consummated.

I now have in my possession one of these junta circulars. They were scattered broadcast throughout the islands. This one was issued on July 17, 1900, at the time that there was considerable talk of the negotiations for peace in Manila. It was given me by Col. Robert Lee Bullard, of the Army, who found them being distributed among the natives in the islands. These self-styled patriots at Hongkong, from their coigne of vantage 700 miles removed from an American rifle, told the natives that "the negotiations for peace in Manila was prejudicing the cause and was favoring the reelection of McKinley."

They were too cowardly to take the field themselves, lest they might get hurt; but they were willing that the deluded, ignorant natives might keep up the struggle, so that ultimately they might step in and fill the offices if ever our Government should retire from the islands. I venture the prediction that within forty-eight hours after the Democratic policy of "scuttle," as set forth in the minority bill, should be adopted the fires of insurrection would be kindled anew, and woe to the future welfare of those Filipinos who have sworn allegiance to the United States Government. Burial alive, disembowelment, burning, decapitation, and a dozen other modes of cruelty and torture too horrible to contemplate would be their portion. The bloody record that already exists of inhuman treatment of natives supposed to be friendly to the American Government would be augmented a thousandfold. On horror's head such horrors would accumulate that all the tears of all the angels could never blot the record out.

Mr. Chairman, I am uncompromisingly opposed to any such proposition. We must hold the islands. Their strategic value to this Government has already been demonstrated. We all remember the fear, the dread, the consternation, the indignation, and the unspeakable horror that shook the civilized nations of the universe when the news was flashed around the world that the ministers of the foreign powers stationed at Peking were besieged in their compounds by hordes of fanatical and bloodthirsty Chinese Boxers. Fortunately for us we had an army in the Philippines, and for once in its history our country did not have to appeal to any foreign power in the world to protect the life and property of its minister. [Applause.]

Instead, we were among the first to render aid and assistance to the representatives of other nations in a foreign land, and when the commanders of the allied foreign forces suggested a delay in the forward movement of the relief expedition until the arrival of the German troops, it was our own General Chaffee who was able to announce that it mattered not what others might do, but as for the Americans, they proposed to move forward to the relief of the besieged diplomats at once and without delay. [Applause.] Indeed it was an American soldier who was the first to scale the walls of Peking. Sir, every American citizen can well be proud of the success of that energetic, aggressive policy which saved the lives of hundreds of men and women, which prevented the torture and massacre of helpless and innocent children, and which was made possible by our presence in the Philippines.

I say that one instance alone should have convinced our countrymen that the islands were worth all they had cost us. We did not have to lag behind, as too often has been the case in our history, but we led the vanguard. "Old Glory," carried aloft by brave American hands to bring its message of comfort and joy to the hearts of those unfortunates besieged behind the legation walls in Peking, never went forth upon a holier mission; and by that act of ours, made possible, as I have said, by our presence in the Philippine Islands, we established forever American prestige in the land of far Cathay.

Sir, there is one instance in our national history where the policy of "scuttle," after being overwhelmingly repudiated at the polls, was, nevertheless, adopted by the then Democratic Administration. I refer to the "fifty-four forty or fight" campaign of 1844. It is true that when the question of our Oregon boundary came up in the Senate in 1846, a large majority of the Senators voted to ratify the treaty by which we relinquished all of that territory which is now known as British Columbia and which was embraced between 49° and 54° 40' north latitude. All the leading Democratic newspapers of that period protested strenuously against this action. The Democratic President, in his inaugural and in his first message to Congress, unequivocally announced that we should never recede. But many able men in Congress in those days did not think that the country between 49° and 54° 40' was worth fighting for, just as many Representatives in our own day and time do not think the Philippines worth

fighting for, and so we relinquished our claims and gave up that valuable territory.

Not three score years have rolled by since then—and how short a time in the life of a nation is sixty years. We have learned to realize what a great mistake the policy of "scuttle" in 1846 has demonstrated itself to be. Why, sir, if we had held our ground at that period, England to-day would not have a single port on the Pacific Ocean side of the American continent. The commerce of the Orient coming across the Pacific would have had to pass through an American port. There would probably be no Alaskan boundary dispute to plague us at this time; and, sir, I for one do not propose, with my vote at least, to sanction another mistake of a similar character. [Applause.] The value of the islands has already been demonstrated to us in the Pekin matter. Let us hold on to them for future generations, after our people have had ample opportunity to demonstrate the wisdom of holding them or the wisdom of withdrawing from them, to decide what is best for the welfare of our own country, commensurate with the peace, the prosperity, and the happiness of the Filipinos, and the development of their native land.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that the bill presented by the majority is a step in the right direction. I believe that it will meet with the approval, not only of the people of the United States, but also of the Filipino people. They are learning to know the true purposes of the American Government, and I am satisfied that the future will abundantly justify the policies of the lamented McKinley and the intrepid Roosevelt.

President McKinley's instructions to the Civil Commission under Governor Taft to my mind will always stand forth as one of the wisest, ablest, most erudite and patriotic state papers that ever emanated from the pen of any President of the United States. The native Filipinos have already learned to love, to honor, to respect, and to admire Governor Taft and his colleagues. The Commission has won their confidence. They have faith in the efforts of the Commission, representing as it does the people of the United States, in seeking to establish stable and suitable provincial and municipal government throughout the archipelago. They have begun to realize that we have not come among them to absorb their wealth nor exploit their resources solely for our own profit and gain. They are rapidly learning that we intend to give them the same blessings of civil and religious liberty that we ourselves enjoy.

Sir, it will not be many years before the predictions of Señor Fabie, of which I spoke at the beginning of my address, will be fulfilled. In a goodly number of towns which I visited in the Philippines, there still remained standing the bamboo arches that had been erected by the natives for the Fourth of July celebration. I was told that the Filipinos everywhere participated in those festivities, and that thousands of native children had sung our patriotic songs on our country's natal day. On the Lunetta, in the city of Manila, a military band discourses music every evening about dusk. The last number on the programme is always "The Star Spangled Banner." As the first note of the beloved national anthem floats out upon the soft, tropical air, every hat is reverently raised and the hum of conversation is hushed until the last note of that soul-stirring and inspiring melody has faded into the silence of the night.

I could not altogether suppress my emotion when I witnessed that, to me, never to be forgotten spectacle, and a vagrant tear fell from my eyes—a tear of earnest thanksgiving and joy at witnessing these people, who, three years earlier, had probably never known the existence of the great Republic across the Pacific, but who, having already learned a full measure of love and admiration for our institutions, thus silently and reverently saluted the song that represents to all American hearts the hopes and aspirations of this majestic nation. [Applause.] I thanked God that I was a citizen of that great Republic that had brought liberty and enlightenment to these 8,000,000 of human beings; that had introduced education and freedom where before had existed ignorance and intolerance; that had lifted up a down-trodden and oppressed race and placed them upon a higher plane of civilization than they had ever dreamed of, and that asked no greater reward than that they should be a loyal, patriotic, and enlightened people under the glorious Stars and Stripes. [Loud applause.]

APPENDIX.

[Circular distributed in the Philippine Islands under the direction of the Hongkong junta.]

NOTICIAS DE NUESTROS AGENTES EN AMERICA.

La calurosa actividad de la campaña electoral, de que tan extensamente habíamos á V. en nuestra anterior, ha continuado, sin decaer en momento, sin entibiarse un solo día, antes por el contrario quizás aumentando en intensidad; ambos partidos contendientes y numerosos elementos que hasta hoy habían, en cierto modo, permanecido alejados de la política ó al menos indiferentes á sus mudanzas y vicisitudes, no descansan un momento en su labor de propaganda y aprestos para la cercana lucha: todos comprenden que ésta ha de revestir caracteres decisivos, que en ella se han de resolver de manera definitiva el porvenir de su patria y puede asegurarse que estas

elecciones han de ser las más reñidas, las más trascendentales quizás que se hayan efectuado nunca en el país, por lo cual véase palpablemente que no hay un ciudadano americano que en ellas no se interese con alma y vida, que no se disponga á tomar parte activa en la coragiosa contienda.

Esta por momentos se vá concretando más, por días definiéndose mejor los caracteres que ha de revestir, en qué círculo cerrado ha de girar: demócratas contra republicanos, anti-trust y anti-expansionismo contra las nuevas tendencias de monopolio y colonización; Bryan contra McKinley. Los demás factores políticos que en segunda línea figuraban, los demás elementos de acción que conocemos, van, por la fuerza de la gravedad, siendo absorbidos por estos dos grandes grupos, compenetrándose con ellos, más y más por días, hasta casi desaparecer del todo.

Las convenciones de los Estados para ambos partidos siguen reuniéndose con el fin de nombrar los delegados y adoptar las plataformas ó instrucciones que estos han de llevar á las convenciones nacionales que se reunirán, el 19 del actual la republicana y el 4 del entrante la democrática; los acuerdos de estas convenciones parciales no dejan lugar á dudas sobre lo que acabamos de exponer, tocante al carácter que revestirá la lucha electoral cercana.

Desde nuestra carta anterior á la presente, se han reunido las convenciones democráticas y republicanas (de Estado) que siguen, por distritos enumerados:

Convenciones demócratas: la de Tennessee el 11 del pasado, la de Allegeny el 14, la de Franklyn el 17, la de Spokane el 19, la de Indiana el 23, la de Chicago en la misma fecha, la de Connecticut el 25, las de Clinton, Cortland y Catskill el 20, la de Nueva Jersey el 31, la de Nueva York el 5 del actual y otras varias de larga enumeración. En todas estas reuniones han prevalecido los temperamentos en favor de Bryan, que hacen segura su nominación en la convención general del partido, y en las diversas plataformas adoptadas resplandece unánime el espíritu anti-trust y anti-expansionista, más ó menos concreto en lo que respecta á nuestra causa pero siempre favorable, pues mientras algunas convenciones, como la de Chicago, por ejemplo, piden espresamente la Independencia de Filipinas, otras, como la de Nueva York, sin pronunciar palabra directa sobre nuestro país, indirectamente vienen á abogar por lo mismo acordando la abolición de todo impuesto de guerra y la observancia de la doctrina fundamental que establece que á la bandera americana debe seguir la libertad en todas partes.

Convenciones parciales republicanas. Se han reunido: la de Iowa el 10 del pasado, la de Colorado en la misma fecha, la de Kansas el 14, la de Hardfort el 18, la de Norfolk el 19, la de Minnesota en la misma fecha, la de Sioux Fall el 24, y algunas más. Todas estas convenciones se muestran unánimes en la nominación de McKinley y en apoyar su política, y si alguna plataforma se ocupa de Filipinas es para hacerlo, según la consabida hipocresía de su jefe recomendando la pacificación de las islas en primer término y, luego, su civilización para darlas la cantidad de Gobierno propio de que se muestran aptos sus habitantes.

De la candidatura Dewey apenas se habla ya: aunque él héroe sigue su viaje de exhibición y recorrido triunfal, y los Americanos patriotas le hacen ovaciones en todas partes, es lo cierto que ninguna convención se acuerda de él y que no será nominado en la general, frustrándose su proyecto de sustituir á Bryan. Últimamente se le indicó como posible candidato para la Vice-presidencia, incluido en el mismo ticket de Bryan, pero este proyecto parece que tropieza con la seria dificultad de que otros antiguos y conocidos demócratas, entre ellos el Dr. Guidner, tienen adquirido un lugar para esta candidatura y serán preferidos por el partido y por su ilustre jefe, al efecto. Continúa, pues, el Almirante siendo una nebulosa en la política americana y constituyendo una amenaza para Bryan, al que puede descontar votos, si bien ha perido por sus vacilaciones y la indefinida actitud en que se presenta, mucha de la fuerza ó prestigio político con que surgió su presidencial candidatura.

La acción que cada día se pronuncia más y que mayor fuerza va recabando, prometiendo ser de suma influencia en las próximas elecciones, es la de las Ligas anti-imperialistas. Antes solo dos, la de Boston y la de Chicago, laboraban con éxito, pero ahora otras varias, con ellas en relación, se han organizado y adquirido mayor preponderancia, desarrollando un trabajo tal que no tenemos palabras bastantes, después de haberlo visto de cerca, para elogiario. Distingüense entre estas ligas, las de Nueva York y Cincinnati, nacidas—como recordará el Comité—al calor de las escitaciones de esta Comisión y alentadas, cuando pobres y pequeñas nacieron, por las comunicaciones y cartas de propaganda que dirigíamos á sus promovedores..... Hoy dichas Ligas, en éxito que nos envalenecen de todas veras y que agradecemos á sus iniciadores con todo el alma, cuentan con numerosas adhesiones y con fondos que les permiten desarrollar su acción de propaganda y un gran prestigio ante el público. Han impreso numerosos folletos, discursos y alegatos de carácter anti-expansionista, que en copiosas ediciones circulan por el país y de los cuales enviamos al Comité muestras escogidas, y celebran meetings que son verdaderos éxitos como los que el 18 en Cincinnati y el 25 en Nueva York se efectuaron (y á los cuales tuvimos ocasión de asistir) en los que ilustres oradores, como el señor Crosby, los ex-ministros señores Boutwell y Schurts, el capitán O'Farrell y otros, hablan con la voz de la razón y la justicia en pró de nuestra causa, al pueblo americano, y alientan y estimulan á los tibios á tomar parte en la próxima lucha electoral á fin de salvar la democracia americana del abismo en que está próxima á derrumbarse.

A la fecunda acción de estas Ligas debe en gran parte la actitud resuelta que elementos hasta hoy ajenos á nuestra causa, van tomando: la Convención populista de Sioux Fall, que el 10 del pasado acordó ir á la lucha electoral enarbolando la bandera de la independencia de Filipinas y con el voto contra McKinley; la resolución tomada por la poderosa organización del Tammany Hall, que hasta hoy apoyaba á nuestro tirano y que se ha decidido á abandonar en la próxima lucha; la acordada actitud de la asociación de Viajantes, que ofrece sus 50,000 votos á Bryan, aunque antes fueron del adversario; la opinión del respetable general Beatty, diciendo que los anti-imperialistas no necesitan elegir candidato, pues acertarán votando por el que luche contra McKinley; y así, menudean las manifestaciones de como la idea anti-imperialista se abre cada día más camino en las inteligencias y en los corazones. Durante estos últimos días, hemos tenido ocasión de oír pluralidad de manifestaciones á tenor de las siguientes, que bastan para elocuentísima nuestra: "Yo—nos decía el señor Kiefer, acreditado industrial de Cincinnati—soy un hombre de negocios, ageno siempre á la política, pero en las propias elecciones lucharé con todo coraje y haré que luchen todos mis amigos, para librar á mi patria de esa vergüenza del imperialismo—Soy republicano de toda la vida—nos dijo con calor el señor Willy, político prestigioso—y en las pasadas elecciones contribuí en mucho al triunfo de McKinley: ahora me propongo hacer más por derrotarle y acabar con sus infamias de política de conquista.—Como éstos señiten y hablan muchos.

En las Camaras también la cuestión filipina ha dado ocasión, durante el mes último á nuevos reñidos debates: los señores Pettigrew, Allen, y Wellington, que tantas veces se ha señalado, sobre todo el ilustre Senador primeramente citado, nuevamente han hecho manifestaciones favorables á nuestra causa, contradiciendo á la Administración. El señor Allen acusó de falsario á Otis y la misma acusación se formuló, también en el Senado, contra el general Schwan por la carta que ha escrito al general Corbin, llena de calumnias contra nuestro país y de falsedades respecto al curso de la guerra.

La Administración, para impresionar al pueblo americano en su favor y salir á flote en la dura campaña con que es por todas partes combatida, no cesa de dar noticias é informaciones desfavorables á nuestra causa: no sólo de la citada

carta se ha hecho uso para dicho fin, sino de toda suerte de recursos y maquinaciones: un día dando por cosa hecha, por noticia confirmada, la muerte de nuestro bravo cadudillo señor Aguinaldo; otro atribuyendo gran significación e importancia a las últimas capturas realizadas por las tropas americanas, como la del señor Paterno; ya haciendo alarde vocinglero de la decisiva influencia que sobre el país puedan tener manifestaciones de los *resellados*, como las últimamente hechas por los señores Buencamino y Torres, en favor de la sumisión a la soberanía americana; ora enviando al Congreso documentos, como la carta que el señor Legarda ha entregado, atribuida al Honorable Presidente señor Aguinaldo, previniéndole saliera de Manila antes de la ruptura de hostilidades, con lo cual trata de probarse que ésta fue voluntaria y premeditada por parte de los nuestros; bien haciendo que los generales americanos nieguen haber recibido ayuda alguna de los revolucionarios en la guerra contra España, como acaba de hacerlo el general Green que, cínicamente, ha afirmado no ser cierto lo que el señor Aguinaldo ha dicho sobre como salvaron los revolucionarios, en Maitubig, su artillería, en la inesperada carga del teniente coronel Dujols; unas veces anunciando que espera grandes y próximos éxitos de la Comisión Taft; otras haciendo hablar a Otis, que ha llegado ya y no cesa de repetir su consabida cantinela sobre que la guerra está terminada, que la mayoría del país desea la soberanía americana, por la cual abogan sus hombres más instruidos, que los filipinos son incapaces del gobierno propio, etc., etc. Tal es la campaña electoral que hacen nuestros adversarios, que cuentan con muchos periódicos adictos, y tienen mucho oro, de los trust precedente, que se destina a la profusa distribución de folletos con los discursos pronunciados y los informes emitidos por los más caracterizados imperialistas en contra de nuestras aspiraciones y bien fundados derechos.

PROGRAMA OFICIAL DE BRYAN.

Combatir al Imperialismo. Conceder la independencia a Cuba. La autonomía en Puerto Rico. El protectorado en Filipinas. La supresión de los *trusts* y la libre acuñación de la plata.

No cesamos de repetirles lo que en nuestras cartas anteriores más de una vez les dijimos: *resistencia, resistencia; solo ella nos conducirá al triunfo.*

7 de Julio de 1900.

Cablegrama recibido el 30 de Junio. Negociaciones Manila paz perjudican causa. Favorecen reelección McKinley.

COMITE CENTRAL FILIPINO DE HONGKONG.

(17 de Julio de 1900.)

[Translation.]

NEWS FROM OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN AMERICA.

The earnest activity of the electoral campaign, of which we gave you an extensive account in our previous letter, has been going on, not being abated for a day or a minute, perhaps with ever-increasing intensity; both contending parties and numerous persons who had heretofore remained aloof from politics in a way, or at least indifferent to its changes and vicissitudes, are working hard and getting ready for the oncoming battle. Everybody realizes the fight will be of such decisive importance that it will determine in a definite manner the future of the country, and it can be assured that these elections will be the fiercest, the most momentous, that have ever taken place in the history of the Republic, for which reason there is no American citizen who does not concern himself with body and soul who has not decided to take an active part in this passionate contest.

What the character and nature of the issues will be can be ascertained better and better every day. Democrats against Republicans; opposition to trusts and antiexpansionism against the novel tendencies of monopoly and colonial policy; Bryan versus McKinley. The second-rate political parties we know of are being absorbed by these two great organizations to the extent of disappearing altogether.

The State conventions of both parties are holding their sessions with the object of nominating delegates and adopting the platforms and instructions which they will follow at the national conventions which will assemble—the Republican on the 18th and the Democratic on the 4th of next month. The resolutions of these State conventions leave no room to doubt as to the character of the future electoral battle.

Since our letter previous to this, some Republican and Democratic conventions have assembled, as follows:

Democratic conventions: That of Tennessee, on the 11th ultimo; at Allegheny, on the 14th; at Franklin, on the 17th; at Spokane, on the 16th; in Indiana, on the 23d; Chicago, the same date; in Connecticut, on the 25th; Clinton, Cortland, and Catskill, on the 20th; New Jersey, on the 31st; New York, on the 5th instant, etc. In all these conventions Bryan's candidacy has been favored; that his nomination at the general convention of his party is beyond doubt; and through the different platforms decided upon run a strong spirit of opposition to trusts and expansion, more or less explicit, but favorable at any rate in regard to our cause; for while some conventions, as that of Chicago, mention in direct terms the independence of the Philippines, others, as that of New York, favor it indirectly, as they have decided upon the abolition of every war tax and the fulfillment of the fundamental doctrine that liberty must follow the American flag everywhere.

Republican conventions: Iowa, on the 10th ultimo; Colorado, on the same date; Kansas, on the 14th; Hartford, on the 18th; Norfolk, on the 19th; Minnesota, on the same date; Sioux Falls, on the 24th, and so on.

All these conventions are unanimous in the nomination of Mr. McKinley, in supporting his policy, and if any Republican platform deals with the Philippines it is according to the usual hypocrisy of their chief, to urge, in the first place, the pacification of the islands and then their civilization, by granting them such amount of self-government as their inhabitants are fit for.

Dewey's candidacy is scarcely spoken of; though the hero is still on his tour of triumphant exhibition, and the American patriots give him splendid receptions everywhere, it is certain that in no convention his name has been alluded to and that he will not be nominated; his plan of replacing Bryan has resulted in a complete failure. Lately he has been indicated as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the same ticket with Bryan, but this scheme does not seem to work well since there are other prominent and old Democrats entitled to this distinction—Dr. Gunder, for instance—and who are preferred by the party and its leader. The Admiral is therefore but a nebula in American politics, and is a menace to Bryan; but at present the Admiral, on account of his irresolution, has lost much of his friends or prestige with which his Presidential candidacy was urged.

The element which increases in power and bids fair to exercise a great influence in the future elections is the anti-imperialist leagues. Heretofore those of Boston and Chicago alone were successful in their efforts, but at the present day some other organizations connected with the mentioned ones have been formed and gained much force, doing a work of such import that we do not find appropriate words to justly praise them. Foremost among these leagues stand those of New York and Cincinnati, which were born (as the committee will remember) from the suggestions of this commission, and were encouraged, when young and resourceless, by the advices and communications we sent to their promoters.

Nowadays these leagues, with a flattering success, which is cause for our rejoicing, have a large membership, resources sufficient to develop their

action under an immense prestige before the people. They have printed a great many pamphlets, speeches, and petitions of anti-imperialist character, which in numerous conditions are spread all over the country, and of which we sent to the committee some selected samples. They are holding really successful meetings, as those which took place in Cincinnati on the 18th and in New York on the 25th—we having had the pleasure to be present there—in which the illustrious orators, like Mr. Crosby, ex-Secretaries Boutwell and Schurz, Captain O'Ferrell, and others, spoke to the American people with a voice of righteousness and justice in behalf of our cause, and encouraged the lukewarm to take heart in the future elections in order to save the American Democracy from the imminent danger of falling into an abyss.

To the successful work of these leagues must be largely traced the active position which some elements hitherto indifferent to our cause are now taking; the Populist convention at Sioux Falls, which adopted as planks of their platform the recognition of the Philippine independence and the repudiation of McKinley; the resolution adopted by the powerful Tammany Hall, which before supported our tyrant and now has decided to desert him in the incoming election; the determination of the Association of Commercial Travelers to cast their 50,000 votes for Bryan, though they were before for his adversary; the statement made by the respectable General Beatty that the anti-imperialists need not elect a candidate, because they will do right by voting in favor of him who opposes Mr. McKinley; and in this way there is frequent evidence of how the anti-imperialist idea is making its way into the intellects and hearts of the people.

To Mr. Kiefer, a well-known business man of Cincinnati, "I am a business man adverse to politics, but in this election I shall fight with all my energy and have all my friends take part in it, so as to save my country from the shame of imperialism." "I am a lifelong Republican," earnestly said Mr. Willy, a prominent politician, "and in the past elections I did my best for Mr. McKinley's victory. Now I propose, however, to do much more to defeat him and his infamous policy of conquest." Many others feel and express themselves as this gentleman.

In both Houses of Congress last month the Philippine question was the subject-matter for furious debates. Senators Pettigrew, Allen, and WELINGTON, most particularly the one first named, have openly admitted their support to our cause in opposition to the Administration. Mr. Allen accused General Otis of being a falsifier, and the same accusation was made against General Schwan, who wrote to General Corbin a letter full of calumnies against our country and falsehoods with respect to the cause of the war. The Administration, in order to favorably impress the American people and to overcome the immense difficulties which beset it, does not cease to give news and information unfavorable to our cause; nay, every conceivable scheme has been brought into play to attain this end, now taken for an indisputable fact the rumor of the death of our brave fellow-citizen, Señor Aguinaldo; again, overestimating the significance of the captures made by the American troops, as that of Señor Paterno, the next day boasting unnecessarily of the influence which the declarations of the "Resellados" (recoined) Señores Buencamino and Torres in favor of American sovereignty have on the islands at large, or sending to Congress documents, such as the letter delivered by Mr. Legarda and attributed to the honorable president, Señor Aguinaldo, warning the former to get out of Manila before the outbreak of the hostilities, with which it is intended to prove that this outbreak has been voluntary and premeditated on the part of our men; or causing the American generals to deny that they have received any help from the revolutionists in the war against Spain, as General Green has just done by cynically denying what Señor Aguinaldo stated as to how the revolutionists saved the American artillery at Maytorbig during the unexpected attack of the Spanish Colonel Dujols; sometimes announcing that great and immediate results are expected from the work of the Taft Commission; sometimes making Otis speak, who since his arrival has never ceased to repeat that the war is over; that the majority of the people are in favor of American sovereignty, which is desired by the educated men; that the Filipinos are incapable of carrying on their own government, etc. This is the kind of electoral campaign in which our adversaries are engaged, who have numberless newspapers at their disposal and plenty of gold, the gift of the trusts, which is devoted to the widespread distribution of pamphlets with the speeches delivered and the reports made by the most notable imperialists in opposition to our aspirations and well-founded rights.

THE OFFICIAL PLATFORM OF BRYAN.

To oppose imperialism. To grant independence to Cuba. Autonomy to Porto Rico. Protectorate to the Philippines. Suppression of trusts and the free coinage of silver.

We reiterate what we have advised you more than once in previous letters: *Resistance, resistance alone will lead us to victory.*

JULY 7, 1900.

Cablegram received on June 30. Peace negotiations in Manila endanger our cause. They favor McKinley's reelection.

CENTRAL PHILIPPINE COMMITTEE.

HONGKONG, July 17, 1900.

The CHAIRMAN. The hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, under the rule of the House the committee must rise.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to yield the floor. I wish to continue this evening with my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin controls the floor.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GILLET of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill S. 2295, and had come to no resolution thereon.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. WACHTER, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 9870. An act to correct the military record of Reinhard Schneider;

H. R. 3641. An act for the allowance of certain claims for property taken for military purposes within the United States during the war with Spain, reported by the Secretary of War in accordance with the requirements of an item contained in the sundry civil appropriation act approved June 6, 1900, authorizing

and directing the Secretary of War to investigate just claims against the United States for private property taken and used in the military service within the limits of the United States, etc.;

H. R. 11725. An act to amend section 4139 and section 4314 of the Revised Statutes;

H. R. 3442. An act to correct the record of John O'Brien;

H. R. 13204. An act to provide for refunding taxes paid upon legacies and bequests for uses of a religious, charitable, or educational character, for the encouragement of art, etc., under the act of June 13, 1898, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 9723. An act correcting the record of Levi Wells.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

S. 5718. An act providing for the sale of sites for manufacturing or industrial plants in the Indian Territory;

S. 282. An act providing for the appointment of James W. Long, late captain, United States Army, a captain of infantry, and for placing his name on the retired list;

S. R. 92. Joint resolution providing for the publication of 200,000 copies of the Report on the Diseases of the Horse;

S. 4923. An act to ratify and confirm a supplemental agreement with the Creek tribe of Indians, and for other purposes;

S. R. 100. Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to furnish condemned cannon for an equestrian statue of the late Maj. Gen. William J. Sewell, United States Volunteers; and

S. 5906. An act declaring the Osage River to be not navigable stream above the point where the line between the counties of Benton and St. Clair crosses said river.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate bills of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees as indicated below:

S. 6070. An act to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River, at a point to be selected, within 5 miles north of the Kaw River, in Wyandotte County, State of Kansas, and Clay County, State of Missouri, and to make the same a post route—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce; and

S. 6138. An act to set apart certain lands in the State of South Dakota as a public park, to be known as the Wind Cave National Park—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

The SPEAKER. The House stands in recess until 8 o'clock this evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House was called to order at 8 o'clock p. m., by Mr. CURRIER as Speaker pro tempore.

MILITARY ACADEMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following conference report and statement to be printed in the RECORD under the rule.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the title. The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 13676) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The report and statement will be printed under the rule.

The report of the committee of conference is as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13676) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 13.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 1: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out all of the matter inserted by said amendment after the word "large," in line 8, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "shall not at any one time exceed forty;" and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"That no money shall be expended or obligation incurred for architects after the plans for improvements above provided for have been approved by the Secretary of War, except that the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to employ, in his discretion, a consulting architect at a compensation not exceeding \$5,000 per annum."

And the Senate agree to the same.

J. A. T. HULL,
RICHARD WAYNE PARKER,
JAMES L. SLAYDEN,
Managers on the part of the House.

F. E. WARREN,
J. C. BURROWS,
F. M. COCKRELL,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

The statement of the House conferees is as follows:

The conferees on the part of the House submit the following statement on the action of the conference committee of the two Houses on H. R. 13676, "An act making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903:"

Amendment No. 1 provides for traveling expenses of cadets admitted to the Academy from their homes to the Academy, and also increases the number of cadets at large by the addition of 10, making a total number of 40 to be appointed from the country at large.

The House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment, and agrees to the same with an amendment providing that the total number of cadets appointed at large shall not exceed 40.

The agreement to the payment of actual traveling expenses was for the reason that since 1883 cadets at the Naval Academy have been allowed their expenses from their homes to the Academy, and for the further reason that it equalizes the expenses of the cadets by placing those living at a distance from the Academy on an exact equality with those living near the Academy.

No. 2 is simply a verbal amendment, and the House recedes.

No. 3 is simply an addition of the totals for three enlisted men, without changing the amount appropriated, and the House recedes.

Nos. 4 and 5 simply strike out quotation marks, which should never have been in the bill, and the House recedes.

No. 6 makes specific appropriation for athletic supplies, and the House recedes.

Nos. 7 and 10 simply refer to lights and strike out words which have been in the bill heretofore in regard to the Welsbach burner that are now considered surplusage, and the House recedes on both.

No. 8 relates to gauges for the water supply from two places only; and as the third place is added by another amendment later on, the House recedes.

No. 9 simply strikes out the brackets around certain words, and the House recedes.

No. 11 makes specific the power to provide for an increased water supply, and the House recedes.

No. 12 makes more specific the power under the bill to install the heating and lighting plant, and the House recedes.

No. 13 increases the appropriation \$1,000,000, and the Senate recedes.

No. 14 relates to supervising architects and also to the purchase of the island commonly known as Constitut on Island. The House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment, and agrees to the same with the amendment which provides that no architect shall be employed after plans are approved, except that the Secretary of War may have a consulting architect, at a compensation not exceeding \$5,000 a year. This entirely eliminates the purchase of the island, as provided for in the Senate amendment.

J. A. T. HULL,
RICHARD WAYNE PARKER,
JAMES L. SLAYDEN,
Conferees on the part of the House.

PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In pursuance of the order of the House, the House will resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill S. 2295.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, Mr. KYLE in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill S. 2295.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. I would like to ask the chairman of the Insular Committee if he expects to use any more of his time just now?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, how has the time thus far been occupied?

Mr. JONES of Virginia. You have used about fifteen minutes of the night time.

The CHAIRMAN. At the conclusion of the evening session the majority side had used thirty-seven minutes more than the minority.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I think we will not consume further time on this side until we have heard from the other side.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. Then, Mr. Chairman, I yield twenty minutes to my friend from Illinois [Mr. KERN].

Mr. KERN. Mr. Chairman, I do not care to discuss the pending bill in its details. I have no inclination to take the proposed measure up clause for clause with a view of pointing out its imperfections or commending its merits. In my opinion, it is a useless waste of both time and labor to analyze this bill.

I deny the right of this Congress to construct constitutions and laws, to propose forms of government, or to establish governmental authorities for any alien people, and in my belief the people of the Philippine Islands constitute a foreign nation endowed with all the rights and powers and the capacity necessary to frame their own constitution, make their own laws, and construct their own government.

The proposition to enact the pending bill into a law is the first fatal step which the American Congress is taking in carrying out the monstrous plan of imperialism which has been mapped out by the Administration. It is now nearly four years since we have begun the work of subjugating, by the application of force, the people of the Philippine Islands, and the war has continued ever since and is now waging as actively and violently as it did at its beginning. But during those four years of warfare the responsibility of the inglorious venture has been on the hands of the Chief Executive of this nation. He has acted in the matter without authority from Congress, except what was conferred on him by a meager resolution. He has acted without the aid of the deliberations of Congress and independently from Congress. At no

stage of the game did he do Congress the honor of asking it for advice or for counsel. He carried out the programme himself—single-handed and alone. Now Congress is asked to take a hand in the proceeding. The American Congress is asked to give a constitution to, and formulate a system of laws for, a foreign nation. In obeying the command the American Congress not merely humiliates itself, but it takes a grave departure from the basic principles upon which our Government is founded.

I believe that if the American Congress were left absolutely alone to exercise its own calm judgment and to employ its own candid intelligence freely and without molestation this bill would be overwhelmingly defeated. It would never have been reported to the House by the committee which had it in charge. The edict has, however, gone forth from the White House, and the bill must pass. The Taft Commission and the military autocracy over there must be vindicated in all of its acts and doings. The departure, new to American policy, must be taken. The American system of free and independent government and of absolute governmental neutrality must be changed into the dangerous system of colonization and conquest which obtains in Great Britain.

The American system may temporarily be changed by the arbitrary action of this Administration, but believe me, my colleagues, the change will be only temporarily. You may change the system, but you can never waver and you can never swerve the American people in the abiding faith which they have in the soundness of the policy of maintaining democratic institutions in all of their original simplicity nor in the fundamental idea that all just government rests primarily and ultimately upon consent.

I am fully aware of the fact that with the omnipotent lash of the Executive behind it as a persuader, this bill, objectionable and vicious as it is in all of its features and in the principles which underlie it, can be railroaded through this House. I have had occasion too often to observe the power which patronage wields. The patronage at the command of the President is tremendous. The effect of using it is not always purifying and ennobling. It is wielded too often to compel men to surrender their own firmly formed convictions and to arbitrarily adopt those of another man, although the two be diametrically opposed to each other.

In times like these it is not the best thing for the vital interests of the people of our Republic for both Houses of Congress and the Chief Executive as well to be of the same persuasion politically. By the crafty use of patronage it is useless to deny that the President too often deprives the representatives of his own party of that character of independence which should be left unimpaired in the legislative department of the Government and by that means absolutely controls both Houses of Congress. Centuries and centuries ago the eloquent prophet Isaiah must have had this sort of a condition in his mind when he gave utterance to the significant words, "The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib." [Laughter.]

It is nevertheless true that you can not reconcile this step which you are about to take in the programme of misnamed expansion, that of making laws for an intelligent and Christian people, or any other kind of a people, for that matter, located many thousands of miles away from our shores, who have not invited us to perform this task for them and who have given emphatic expression to their unwillingness to live under and obey the laws we make for them, with the spirit of American Democracy and Republicanism. You are taking a fatal and serious departure from the principles of government which Jefferson enunciated. Washington contended for on the field of battle, and which Abraham Lincoln so valiantly defended, even unto death.

It is contended that we can make a better government for those people than they can make for themselves. The vital question involved here, it seems to me, is not so much a question of good government as it is a question of self-government. Our own splendid Government, in the opinion of many philosophers and statesmen in other lands, is itself far from having reached the acme of perfection. I do not doubt but that there are many wise men and profound thinkers living abroad to-day—twentieth century Platos, Rousseaus, and Volneys, as it were—who are confident in their own conceit that they could construct for the American people a far more perfect system of government than the one which they enjoy. Yet, did some foreign power attempt by force of arms to compel us to abandon our system and to adopt in its stead a system made to order for us in some foreign country, however more perfect that foreign-made article might be, theoretically and in reality, we would bitterly resent the invasion, even to the extreme of shedding the last drop of American blood in uncompromising resistance and seeing the last vestige of American substance licked up by incendiary flames.

The evidence is voluminous, and it is thoroughly conclusive to any mind open to conviction that the people of the Philippine Islands can be safely trusted with the management of their own

affairs, and are, beyond peradventure, capable of self-government. They are a Christian people. They worship the same God mankind throughout the length and breadth of all Christendom worships. They believe in the same forms of worship. They derive their lessons of obligation to their fellow-men, of divinity and immortality from the same holy book. They sing the same sacred hymns. They kneel before altars of the same description, and their choirs sing the same melodious peans of divine praise in the same kind of churches.

We learn, furthermore, from positively reliable sources that there is less illiteracy in Luzon than there is in Massachusetts. The leaders of thought among the Filipinos have been educated in the leading universities of the world. The people have access to excellent schools, where they are well educated in their own language. It is true that they are not all profound scholars, but neither is profound scholarship universal in any other country, perhaps to the inestimable benefit of that country. Their habits and customs are spoken of in the highest terms of admiration by people who have traveled extensively on the archipelago and are recommended as being in many respects worthy of even our own emulation. The inhabitants of the islands are said to be thrifty, temperate, and devoted to family ties and to domestic life, and they are given to the habit of attending strictly to their own business and leaving that of other people religiously alone.

Here, then, we have 10,000,000 people who are yearning for liberty and for the right to govern themselves, and least of all does it become ourselves as American freemen, whose boast it has always been that their country is the asylum of the oppressed which offers a secure haven of refuge for those of other lands in quest of freedom, and whose Titan forefathers themselves amid the deafening roar of shot and shell refuted forever every argument that may be urged in favor of a colonial system. Yet this day is the American Congress found in the inconsistent and incongruous act of attempting to foist upon the people of the United States the tyrannous and burdensome makeshift of colonialism which has made Great Britain the reproach and a stench in the nostrils of the modern world.

We have this day in the Philippine Islands, and we have had for the last four years, a large body of armed soldiers killing and destroying every human being that insists on asserting the natural right of a people to govern themselves and asks for freedom, and this by way of paving the road toward carrying thither the system of government which we are constructing here now, and arriving there with the shop-made thing, to impose it upon those unwilling people for their acceptance without giving them a voice or any kind of representation whatever in the framing of a single statute.

We are told by the President that the Executive, with the instrumentality of the Army, has about cleared the ground and swept the field sufficiently clean so that the time has come when the legislative department of our Government may do its part in the programme of usurpation and make to order a system of hand-me-down laws to be hauled over there and delivered ready-made for the future bliss and beneficence of the benighted Filipinos. He informs us in solemn tones that the insurrection has about been stamped out. He tells us that if we will just stand still, quit thinking for a little while, and quit talking the job will presently be finished.

What job? The job of stifling the voice of every man and woman and child in the Philippine Islands who demands liberty and the recognition of the natural right of self-government. How finished? Finished by killing those who will not yield to the water cure, hurling others into prison, and bribing some.

In this promise there is not much consolation for a self-respecting American whose heart still thrills and throbs to the inspiring music of the old battle songs of freedom.

But even at that, take good care, my colleagues, that this self-confident assurance is not again the old ante-election promise. Ever since the war in the Philippines has been waging we were given assurance and were promised just before the election, and that on two noteworthy occasions before this one, that the insurrection was gasping in the last throes of peaceful death, and still there is no cessation of hostilities, and perhaps there will not be as a matter of plain truth for some time to come.

Of the fact that there ultimately will be a cessation of hostilities if we continue to persist in our work of slaughter and despoliation there can not be the slightest doubt. It does not require a prophetic vision to see the finish of it all. Eighty millions of people equipped with the latest and most terrible implements of modern warfare, blessed with fabulous wealth, pitted against ten millions of poorly equipped and primitively armed people, with their country invaded, their productive energies seriously impaired and almost totally checked, must triumph in the end, even in offensive warfare conducted under all sorts of difficulties and in spite of seemingly insurmountable obstacles imposed by nature.

It was but a few weeks ago when we saw that sort of an incident closed. We witnessed the melancholy spectacle of mighty England overpowering and conquering a pair of weak Republics, after years of brave and heroic resistance, at the cost of immense treasure and unnumbered lives. With their stout hearts breaking, the intrepid Boers finally realized that it was hopeless and needless to prolong the unequal struggle against overwhelming odds any longer. In utter despair they finally laid down their rifles and surrendered to the merciless conqueror.

When the collapse came, instead of England hiding her face in shame in view of the infamous job which she had completed, in contemplation of her own thousands of brave sons who had turned their pallid faces to the stars and lay buried in unmarked trenches, and of the women and the children in grief and mourning who were to be their future subjects and fellow-countrymen, England went wild with exultant frenzy, and London threw itself into a licentious debauch and drunken saturnalia which horrified and disgusted the civilized world. Men and women staggered along the streets of London in an utterly maudlin and irresponsible condition, shrieking and yelling and babbling like mad men and like untamed savages; and in the course of the disgraceful orgy the respectability of London even was shocked by the commission of numerous foul and revolting murders committed on the public streets, not to allude to the other harrowing scenes of unnamable immorality and tumultuous riot which helped to make the disheartening picture complete.

God forbid that the day shall ever come when those scenes of disgusting and disgraceful and horrifying scandal shall be repeated in free America. God forbid when the sounding of the death knell of infant republics will ever produce that kind of rejoicing and that kind of manifestations here in the United States. God forbid that when the day comes that the commanding general in the Philippines wires to us the intelligence that the last resisting Filipino chief—like De Wet, fame-crowned for time everlasting—throws down his arms and says, "We submit. We are overpowered. We are conquered. It is useless to fight any longer. We can not contend against the inevitable. God wills it so. We are helpless and palsied now. We yield." God forbid that when that day comes a single American part his lips to raise one cheer of exultation or of joy at the barren triumph. [Applause on Democratic side.]

England may celebrate the victory, but if England harbors the delusion that those intrepid Boers will bend their necks willingly to the yoke, England is sadly mistaken. England may have conquered the Boers, but has she broken the proud spirit of those fearless men and peerless women who laughed at death and scorned carnage? No, never. Even if England had vanquished the Revolutionary forefathers in our own country, no one but a man in the last stages of incurable insanity would for a moment believe that England could hold the United States to-day, or that the British flag would still be flying over these dominions. Pigmies can not hold giants in subjection long. The South African child will grow into a giant. It will outgrow England herself. I make the prediction here and now that another mighty nation will grow up there, second only to the United States. The spirit of liberty will survive in it, and a dozen Englands with all their redcoats can not stamp it out.

But England's treatment of the Boers was more humane and more considerate than that which we are offering to the Filipinos to-day. The Boer generals had a hand in writing the peace terms. They were represented at the conference. They dictated conditions which were adopted. The British Parliament did not dare go to the autocratic extreme of framing a constitution and formulating a system of laws for the Boers without consulting a single man in South Africa, and it did not dare to transgress to the extent of taking that kind of a shop-made constitution and code to South Africa and say to those people: "Here! Take this. It is the perfection of reason. It is the climax of human wisdom, framed and constructed for your especial benefit by ourselves, a set of men who are vastly your superiors in knowledge and learning and experience, vastly your superiors in Christianity and civilization, vastly your superiors in morality and progressive thought." England did not dare go to that arbitrary and insulting extreme.

The last nation on earth that ought to dream, even in its most delirious moments of ecstasy, of conquering with shotted guns and drawn saber a people that craves to be self-governing and free are the American people. The procedure is utterly unnatural and involves a complete reversal of every single solitary lesson which our history teaches us. It takes the sacredness and the romance and the poetry out of every tradition we treasure and shatters them all into countless fragments and throws them to the ground.

A few weeks ago we witnessed the impressive spectacle, with all of its beautiful and heart-inspiring ceremonies, of unveiling a flag-draped monument, across the avenue from the White House,

a block away from the statue of Lafayette, coming as a gift to the Republic of America from the Republic of France, to perpetuate the memory of Rochambeau. The Republic of France sent a delegation of her most distinguished citizens to attend the simple and the democratically grand festivities. The memory of General Rochambeau is that of a soldier, a statesman, a philosopher, and a patriot, who came to the rescue of the American people in the most trying hour of their sore distress while they were fighting for liberty and the right to govern themselves. He came to our rescue in Revolution's darkest hour, when not a single star was left to glitter hopefully in the skies. Without his aid and the aid of Lafayette and the aid of Steuben, Washington, like the great De Wet, might have been compelled to throw down his sword, unsheathed in defense of liberty, and to affix the signature of his immortal name to the terms of what would have been at least a temporary, ignominious, and galling surrender.

On that occasion the President in his address of welcome fittingly and touchingly directed the attention of the representatives of the French Republic to the work which our Republic had done in aiding bleeding Cuba in her hour of distress, and in helping the people of that country to secure for themselves the blessings of liberty and popular government. Cuba will one day raise monuments to the memory of her American liberators. But on the incident now on in the Philippine Islands the President maintained a discreet and diplomatic silence. He did not dare look westward when he spoke. And yet the world would rejoice if the Philippine republic would one day be given the opportunity to also raise monuments to the memory of immortal American liberators.

The war in the Philippine Islands affords the only scene to the world to-day where human blood is being shed on battlefields. The only spot on earth where armed forces are arrayed against each other in hostile camps is on the Philippine Archipelago. On the one side is a people that has committed no other offense than that of asking for liberty; on the other a great Republic which has always boasted of its love and loyalty and devotion to the principles of liberty. That that war should continue for one hour longer is a shame and a disgrace. It is an outrage on humanity itself. It is idle to say to the American people and to the world that the shedding of blood in the Philippine Islands can not be made to cease. We have never made the effort. We have never tried to put a stop to it on any other terms except those of extermination or unconditional surrender. We have never even treated the Filipinos with decent respect. We have persistently refused to give them credit for being the Christian and civilized people which they certainly are.

You talk about wanting to give them independence and the liberty which they are seeking, but on no occasion has the Administration offered it to them. It has never listened to their pleading. It has turned scornfully away from the pitiful cries of those people. It has never promised them independence. It has never offered them liberty. Surely this Congress ought to concede to them the unqualified right of framing their own constitution, just as Europe was compelled to concede it to us notwithstanding the fact that legislative bodies in Europe solemnly and officially declared that the American colonies were utterly incapable of self-government, and that they could not safely be trusted with liberty. We ought to concede to those people the right to formulate and make binding their own laws, be they good or bad, just the same as Europe was compelled to concede that right to the American colonies after they had thrown off the yoke of foreign despotism, and were starting out in the garb of freemen to carve out their own destiny on the broad highway of human liberty.

You say you can not stop the war? Yes, there is one man in America, one individual in all the world who can stop that war and stop it to-morrow. The name of that man is Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States.

I say to you, Theodore Roosevelt, if you are in earnest in your loud professions and your repeated declarations that you want those people to have their liberty and their independence and that you wish to concede to them the right to govern themselves, say the word, and the Congress and the people will back you up in it, and hostilities will cease to-morrow. You are the only living man in all the world at this moment who can say that word and make it count. You are the only man who can say it effectually.

In England they are preparing now to go through the hollow mockery of placing an unearned crown upon the brainless head of an undeserving royalist, dubbed King. [Applause on the Democratic side.] That stupid ceremony will be followed by another debauch and another series of orgies similar to those witnessed when De Wet threw down his blood-stained sword in despair, a vanquished freeman.

Let the President of the United States extend the blessing of liberty and order to the people of the Philippine Islands, and the American people will have a coronation, too, this summer. They will crown their President, not with a golden crown bespangled

with ill-gotten diamonds filched from blood-soaked South African fields, but with a modest crown of laurels, emblem of peace, happiness, and good will toward all mankind, and all oppressed humanity will arise to bless him as a liberator and a benefactor of his race, while the men and the women and the little children in the Philippine Islands will arise and, waving their sun-browned arms and sun-browned hands, do the cheering, instead of walking to the rear, with frowning faces—unwilling, revengeful, sullen, conquered subjects.

Theodore Roosevelt, acting in the capacity of President of the United States, has the power to stop the war. No sensible man will question or deny that fact. Let him make his bluff good. The ante-election assurances that the war is over, let me assure you, my colleagues, will not "stay put" this time. The people are enlightened. They can be deceived no longer. If the war is over, as he assures us it is, let him give us tangible evidence of the fact by calling the troops home and mustering the soldiers out of the service. If the war is not over, then I say let this Congress refuse to legislate for a foreign and reluctant nation, and let the President continue to have the glory of it and with it the shame.

We boast of the fact that we are a Christian people. We preach the teachings of the Man from Galilee in our churches and at our firesides, but the doctrines of Christianity must be practiced to be effective. It was the lowly Nazarene who used these words, pregnant with meaning: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do you even so to them. That is the law of the prophets." And in my creed the Golden Rule is better than a golden crown, no matter how heavy it be and no matter how many diamonds bestud the medieval diadem. I, for my part, would not take my hat off to any crowned head at any time or anywhere, but I would cheerfully uncover my brow any day before the humblest mortal that practices the Golden Rule.

Macaulay said: "That is the best government which desires to make the people happy and knows how to make them happy." Neither the people of this country nor the people of the Philippine Islands can be truly happy so long as even the form of war is maintained on the Philippine Archipelago. The way for us to be happy is to make those friendless people happy. Give them sincere assurance that they will be granted independence, as Cuba enjoys it now, and the war will be over.

Nor do I care who struck the first blow. It is immaterial to me what this or that American officer is supposed to have promised. It is a matter of no concern to me in this connection what the character of Buencamino or Aguinaldo is, or what the character of Luna was. It is now a mere historical incident what occurred on this or that particular date. We may prate about these things all we want to, but these occurrences and matters are not arguments that affect the case one way or the other. If this controversy is not above the level of a prize fight, it is not worthy of a moment's serious attention in a dignified and responsible body like this. If it is not a broad and deep question of principle that is involved here, and I believe it is, we ought to cease meddling with it.

It is not necessary either that you own a people in order that you may trade with them. It is entirely within the realm of possibility for us to have the most favorable trade relations conceivable with the people of the Philippine Islands without owning them. Let us secure their good will, and trade will follow that more surely than it will follow the flag.

The opposition in this controversy is so free to use the trick of urging that criticism of our present Philippine policy is tantamount to antipathy and antagonism to the Army.

The trick is a mere subterfuge, utterly unfair and utterly reprehensible. I have not met a soldier yet who had returned from the Philippine Islands, and who was not looking for a Government job, or some other sort of governmental favor, who had one word of commendation or approval for our policy in the Philippine Islands. No man has a higher regard for the American soldier than I have. I would deny the soldiers in the field no sort of comfort. I would concede them every form of pleasure they could have in civil life. I would even give them their canteen back, which you stubbornly refuse to do. But I protest most emphatically against employing this Philippine conquest business as a means and as a pretext for saddling the antiquated and nefarious European system of militarism permanently upon the American Republic.

I protest against this Congress legislating for an unwilling people. I protest against this Congress legislating for a people which has had no hearing before our committees. I protest against wars of conquest. I protest against the further continuation of this war. I protest against the wholesale slaughter and the threatened extermination of a people who are guilty of no other crime than that of asking for liberty. I protest against punishing a people who are simply demanding that the principles of the Ameri-

can Declaration of Independence be extended over their humble homes, and I think the time has about arrived when this Congress ought to pay some attention to the social and political needs of our own people here at home instead of giving all its time to bulldozing and bullying people in distant island possessions in the sole and exclusive interests of American commercialism, a horde of American office seekers, American monopolistic greed, and the growing and menacing spirit of American imperialism. [Loud applause.]

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, the few remarks of a most peaceful character that I have in my mind toward the development of our new possessions have almost been driven out by the terrible arraignment by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KERN] of the terrible state of war and the condition that existed in the Philippine Islands. But I trust the gentleman will possess his soul in patience, for the facts of the case are in direct contradiction to the affairs which seem to stir his very soul to its depths.

The army of 70,000 men that it was necessary to maintain in the Philippine Islands to enforce the law, that the majesty of this Government might be obeyed by all those who have come under its jurisdiction, has already been reduced to 30,000 men; and if my friend from Illinois had read yesterday's paper, he would have seen that the orders had already gone out from the War Department ordering a further return of troops and that the small number of 19,000 men are to be left in these now pacified Philippine Islands, which are to be handed over, and are being handed over daily, to the civil control established by the Commission sent out by the President and this Congress for that purpose. These alarming speeches, these great fears, as expressed by the Democratic party, are simply evaporating into thin air when they are met by the stern recital of facts.

But, Mr. Chairman, the few words I have are on a much more peaceful plan. It is almost impossible, sir, in the short time that is allowed debate under the pressure, for those who wish to participate, to criticize or to go into detail of the provisions of a bill that covers 50 pages of typewritten matter as it comes from the Senate, and covers 50 more pages in the substitute offered by the committee of the House.

But, sir, there are two provisions which the House maintains and to which I wish to give my thorough adhesion. The one is that the great battle which has been fought out in the political arena and in the halls of legislation of our country as to a proper monetary standard that should be established in our commercial transactions should be founded on the gold standard in every territory and in every business community that is under the control of our Government. [Applause.]

That is the issue that has been fought out at the polls, and the American people have always given a proper verdict on every great question that has been submitted to their judgment. That is the standard of our country by the voice of the American people, and I for one question the wisdom and doubt the judgment that proposes to erect a different standard in any portion of our country, never mind how many miles or what conditions exist in its territory.

The second one which the House puts forward in opposition to that advanced by the Senate is that these people should have a representative local legislature. Mr. Chairman, when this question was found to be liable to come before the legislature of our country I made a careful study of the provincial governments as adopted by England, and one of the wisest provisions it struck me in the study of the history of long experience in provincial government was that the sooner you give the people the right to participate in self-government and bestow upon them that sense of responsibility which makes good citizens, which makes the people take an interest in their government, the better. For that reason, Mr. Chairman, I subscribe myself most heartily, and hope the House will insist on that provision.

Mr. Chairman, there is another question now pending between the two Houses of Congress which to my mind, in the peaceful vein in which I propose to speak, will do more to develop the prosperity of the Philippine Islands and to bind us more strongly together with its principal country than any other measure I know of. We all have realized, we know in our country, that the fearful ones, before it got its great geographical area, were afraid that our Republic might disintegrate, but the iron bands of the railroad and the bands of the telegraph have annihilated distance so that the man who picks up his morning paper in San Francisco is as fully informed of what goes on in the national capital as though he lived closer to its limits.

So, sir, in my judgment the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama or Nicaragua will do more to develop the commercial resources and the trade intercourse between our country and our new possessions than perhaps any legislation, how ever wise in its provisions, that may be enacted by the National Legislature.

When the Nicaragua bill was reported from the Committee

on Interstate and Foreign Commerce there were some of us who thought that perhaps we should wait a while longer for further information. Appreciating the great work done by the able chairman and the hard working committee, all that we asked was that some little time might be allowed for further investigation. This view was enforced by the fact that new conditions had arisen since that committee had made its report. Nay, more; new conditions had arisen since the report of the Commission which had been authorized by this Congress at an expense of \$1,000,000 to report upon the feasibility and practicability of the two different routes; and we hold the view that the Commission should be allowed to report under the new circumstances.

It was very curious, Mr. Chairman, to observe how, as human intellect interprets the decisions of other men, different conclusions were reached by members of the House in debating the question in this Hall. Some thought that the first report of the Inter-oceanic Canal Commission was an absolute decision in favor of the Nicaragua route.

Others adopted the interpretation that, according to the report, the Panama route was not under consideration by the Commission, for the reason that at the time of their report, and at the time the bill was reported from the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, there had not been a practical offer with reference to the Panama route. In fact, I may go further and say that there was at that time no offer that was considered from the French Inter-oceanic Canal Company. Since that time that company has made a definite offer of \$40,000,000. Since that time the Commission has made a supplemental report; and it is proven that those who had adopted the view that the Commission had not the French proposition under consideration were right in their interpretation.

The bill has now come back after careful consideration in the Senate with the stamp of approval of that body. And we have the report of the Commission unanimously in favor of the Panama route. The measure is now in conference between the two Houses.

Mr. Chairman, a sensible man who employs a lawyer will not go to him unless he has full confidence in him. Any man who employs a doctor will not seek his professional services unless he has full confidence in him.

So, sir, it would be a foolish patient or a foolish client who, after consulting his legal adviser or his doctor, would not follow the advice so given. That is the position I wish to occupy. I wish to call the attention of my colleagues in this House to the consideration that we, as laymen, will take a great responsibility if we undertake to put our judgment, however sincere and however honest, against the unanimous report of the Commission which has reported in favor of the Panama route.

Mr. Chairman, I doubt whether any superior commission could be found in our country. Nay, I will be broader in my assertion and say that I doubt whether an abler body of men could be found anywhere. Their patience and care, the deliberation which they have exercised in all their dealings, their absolute fairness in all their statements, nothing being put forward except what was founded on absolute fact, ought to inspire confidence and sway the judgment of this House on this important question.

Less than two hours ago it was my privilege to have a conversation with Admiral Walker, who has never lifted a hand to influence legislation in these halls, and therefore what I say I wish to be distinctly understood as coming from him through me simply on my behalf. I having sought information from him on this subject. He authorized me to say that he considers this—

Mr. WOOTEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. I submit that it is not in order for the gentleman to discuss the Nicaragua or the Panama Canal bill in this debate, under the rule that we have adopted. My understanding is that the rule confines the debate to the bill under consideration—the bill for the government of the Philippine Islands.

Mr. ADAMS. Allow me to state that I inquired of the Chairman and the gentleman in charge of this bill as to the effect of the rule and the bearing of my remarks, and it was only after such consultation that I ventured to indulge in the line of remarks which I have followed.

The CHAIRMAN. Ordinarily the construction which the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ADAMS] has followed in regard to the line of debate permissible in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union would be correct; but under the special order of the House adopted in the present case, the debate must be devoted only to the pending bill. The point of order is well taken.

Mr. ADAMS. I appreciate the courtesy of the gentleman from Texas that he did not interrupt me until my fifteen minutes had expired. [Laughter.] I ask the privilege of extending my remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. The rule expressly provides for that. Mr. JONES of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield twenty minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. ROBINSON].

Mr. ROBINSON of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, after more than

three years of evasion the Republican party is at last forced to take the American people into its confidence and declare its intentions and purposes toward the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. The bill which is now offered us by the majority, providing for civil government in the Philippines, contains no hope of our withdrawal from these islands either now or hereafter; no promise of liberty or independence to the Filipino people either in the present or future. And so at last the mask is thrown aside, and we are boldly told by the Republican leaders that these islands are to be held and treated as conquered provinces, and their inhabitants ruled and governed as a vanquished and subjugated race.

There is now no more deceit, no more dissimulation, no more hypocrisy; for this much at least we may be thankful.

Mr. Chairman, at the time the treaty of peace between Spain and this country was signed two courses were open for the American people to follow: One, to assist the Filipino people to establish a government of their own, grant to them liberty and independence, and leave them to work out their own destiny, as we did with Cuba. To have followed this course would have called for no waste of treasure, no use of military power, no sacrifice of life, no shedding of human blood. The other course was to smother by force the demand for independence among these people, to crush out by military power any desire for liberty, and to hold them in political servitude and bondage.

The Republican party from the outset chose the latter course. It is true, Mr. Chairman, that they did not make their purpose known to the American people; in fact, every evasive artifice and subterfuge was resorted to to conceal this purpose. Now, at the end of a little more than four years we are able, as a people, to look back over their work, to count the cost, and weigh the benefits. During all this time they have been in absolute control of this Government; they have had the House, the Senate, and the Executive; they have had the Army and the Navy. If any mistakes have been made they are responsible for them, and if any benefits have accrued they are entitled to the credit.

During the time we have been holding these islands every effort has been made to win the American people away from their old-time ideas of liberty and send them chasing after "new idols and strange gods" in order that they might be the better prepared to accept and approve of the infamous and unholy purpose which is now for the first time fully disclosed. In order to bring this about, a number of remarkable arguments were used, some of them not altogether new to history. Among them, that old claim of "destiny" was advanced, that specious falsehood of kingly tyranny which has been urged in support of every act of political tyranny and oppression in every age of the world, and which it was believed was at one time shot to pieces by American bullets on the battlefields of the Revolution.

But with canting hypocrisy it was proclaimed from high-priced pulpits and from the stump that it was a part of God's great plan that we should go to the Philippine Islands in order that we might carry the blessings of Christianity and civilization to the millions of human beings who were there dwelling in ignorance in the dark corners of the world. And it was hinted at the same time that nothing of this kind would have occurred had not the Republican party been in power on this occasion, as quite a considerable portion of the Republican leaders do not hesitate to give expression to the belief that God never does anything for this Government or its people while the Democratic party is in control.

It is written, "whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth," and there is one thing which has always impressed me with this "destiny" argument. If it is true that it is the appointed will of God that the gang who now control the Republican party are to continue to rule and govern the Filipino people, then, in view of all that has happened and is still happening there, I am profoundly impressed with the great love which the Lord must have for the Filipino people. [Laughter and applause.] They will certainly need some Moses to lead them out of their bondage, and when that time shall come there will not be enough wealth remaining among all their tribes to erect a golden calf.

Mr. Chairman, I am neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but I undertake to say that whenever the Lord has any message to give to that crowd he will send for them, and the performance of the task which he assigns them will call for their immediate presence in a place hotter than the Philippine Islands, where the practice of the "water cure" is unknown, and where, to say the least, no rainy season will interfere with the campaign. [Great laughter and applause.]

Having used the "destiny" argument to quiet the scruples of some, they then presented the business side of the proposition and told of the money there was in it, and they sent some of their orators to these islands in transports at National Government expense; there to bask in the shade of the Tropics to study the question, and when they returned to our shores we were told tales

that were marvelous and wonderful about the wealth and resources of our new possessions, and some of them showed nuggets of gold, "finer than the gold of Ophir," which they said had been found there, and declared that the precious metal could there be obtained in great abundance. They spoke in a grand and lofty way of our trade with the Orient, and drew glowing pictures of how the ocean transports in the future would plow their way across the mighty waters of the Pacific in an almost endless stream, freighted down with the products of the American mine, the American factory, and the American farm, there to find a ready market, and that these vessels would return loaded with the wealth of the Orient, to be scattered broadcast among our people. And this appeal to avarice and greed deceived many.

But, Mr. Chairman, the men who are moved by this argument of trade are practical men, and now at the end of four years they demand a summing up of the books, a balancing up of accounts, in order to ascertain how much of profit or of loss there is in this venture. It was stated that "trade followed the flag." The flag has been held there by force for more than four years, and now the American people desire to know how much it has cost to keep the flag there and how much of a trade has followed it. If we have a market there for American goods, how much of a market is it, and, in God's name, how much in blood and treasure has it cost to maintain it?

Mr. Chairman, during the two years immediately preceding the war with Spain this nation was at peace with all the world. Let us look back and see how much it cost during those years to maintain our military establishment.

I have here the report of the Secretary of War for the year 1897. It contains the expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, and the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898. These figures simply include, Mr. Chairman, the salaries in the War Department, the pay of the Army, the cost of clothing and transportation, sustenance of the Army, and those other items which go to make up the cost of our military establishment, leaving out the moneys expended on our rivers and harbors and coast defenses, and all other items which do not properly belong to the actual expense of the Army itself.

This report shows that the entire sum of money expended during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, amounted to \$23,906,645.73. The amount appropriated for the support and maintenance of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, was \$24,842,600.30.

It will be remembered that this appropriation was made during the first session of the Fifty-fifth Congress, prior to our war with Spain. The cost, therefore, of maintaining our Army during two years immediately preceding our war with Spain amounted to \$48,749,246.03, making an average expenditure per annum, Mr. Chairman, of \$24,374,623.

Now, let us pass over the year of our war with Spain and turn to the Secretary's annual report for the years 1900 and 1901. During these two years, Mr. Chairman, the amounts expended for maintaining and supplying the Army, including cost of transportation, leaving out all moneys expended on rivers and harbors and coast defenses, amounted to \$226,006,939.15, making an average yearly expenditure of \$113,003,469.57.

Subtract from this the average yearly expenditure of the two years prior to the war, and the remainder shows an annual increase of \$88,628,846.56. This vast sum, Mr. Chairman, shows the amount which this nation is expending annually on its military establishment alone on account of our occupation of the Philippine Islands.

And this is not all. The Secretary of the Navy in a report made to the Senate May 23, 1902, being Senate Document 372, shows that the Navy Department expended during the years 1900 and 1901, for naval operations in the Philippines, made necessary by our occupation of those islands, the sum of \$11,847,000, making an average annual expenditure of the Navy Department of \$5,923,000 by reason of our being there.

This makes a total annual expenditure by this Government of \$94,551,846.56, and is the annual cost of our holding the Philippine Islands.

Nor is this all, Mr. Chairman; there yet remain the pensions arising from the service of our soldiers in these tropical islands, which will continue to be a charge of millions per annum for generations to come.

There, Mr. Chairman, you have the cost, the annual outlay in money only, of the building up of our trade with the Philippines. Mr. Chairman, this is only the cost in dollars and cents. It does not include the suffering and loss of life. There are some things which can not be estimated in money. In the quiet cemetery in my home town in Nebraska there are several mounds which were decked with flowers last decoration day, mounds which were not there before our war with Spain, and mounds which would not now be there had that war not been fought. They mark the last resting place of some of the noble youth who went forth in the

strength and pride of manhood's prime to battle for the liberty of Cuba.

The fortunes of war called them to the Philippine Islands and they became part of the Nebraska regiment which did such gallant service during that unfortunate war. The record they made as soldiers contains nothing of stain or reproach. They made war on no women or children; they slaughtered no unarmed prisoners. They cared kindly for all the wounded which fell into their hands; but when the balance of that company returned and were welcomed by our citizens with marching bands and flying banners, they were no longer with them, and on that occasion, Mr. Chairman, there were mothers in our town who felt the full extent of the price which had been paid, and there were fathers who realized the full measure of the sacrifice which is required when a nation calls its youth to arms.

But, Mr. Chairman, we will return to the business proposition. We are expending annually \$94,551,846.56 in carrying out the Republican policy in the Philippine Islands. This immense burden has been upon the American people since the 1st day of May, 1898, a little more than four years. It is no doubt true that in the year 1898 our expenditures there were very much greater, that being the year of our war with Spain, but, to make an estimate of the entire four years and seven weeks during which time we have occupied these islands upon the same basis which it is now costing us, it may be fairly stated that the Republican policy in the Philippines has cost our people, in treasure alone, up to this time \$391,714,792.89, and to this must be added the \$20,000,000 which were paid to Spain for the privilege of assuming this immense burden, making \$411,714,792.89.

These figures prove, Mr. Chairman, that, whether from a political or commercial standpoint, the policy of the Republican party in the Philippine Islands has proven to be the most stupendous blunder of the age.

This is the cost of keeping our flag in the Philippines, and for all this loss of blood and treasure how much trade do we enjoy?

The report of the Secretary of War for the year 1901 shows that our entire trade with the Philippine Islands during that year amounted to only \$2,855,685. As a business proposition, then, Mr. Chairman, it may be safely stated that our occupation of the Philippines is not a paying investment. There may be some truth in the argument that "trade follows the flag," but whether it pays or not depends upon how much it costs to place the flag, how much to maintain it where it is placed, and how much of trade will follow it.

And so this argument too has failed. I for one, Mr. Chairman, rejoice that it is so. If any considerable number of our people have cherished the hope of building up commerce at the cost of liberty and human life, I am glad that hope has been shattered. If any of the citizens of this Republic, while they themselves were enjoying the blessings of liberty and free institutions, were willing to enslave a people in order that they might accumulate wealth by exploiting them, then I rejoice that they have been disappointed in that cruel, unholy, and unjust ambition. Whatever may be the final outcome of the present unfortunate condition in the Philippine Islands, one thing at least is sure, that long years will come and go before avarice and greed will ever again be used as an argument to move this Republic to send its conquering armies to rob a people of their liberties and place our flag by force over an unwilling race.

And what are the reasons now given, Mr. Chairman, by the majority on this floor why we should still continue in the Philippine Islands? The argument of trade has been proven false and is abandoned. But only one argument worthy of notice has been advanced by the Republicans upon this floor in support of their policy. It is urged that we have friends in these islands who welcomed us, who have recognized our authority, and who assisted us in overcoming resistance to that authority, and it is stated that there is also capital in those islands, the property of our own and foreign people, and that all these interests we are in honor bound to protect from injury, from vengeance, and from wrong, and for this reason it is stated we can not leave these islands to be governed by the inhabitants.

Mr. Chairman, if there be sufficient force and reason in this argument to require us to continue in these islands now, if it be true that we can not now in honor withdraw, then I ask at what time in the future can we hope to leave the Philippine Islands? When will we have fewer friends there to protect than now? When will we have less of property of our own and foreign people to guard? Will not these obligations rather increase than diminish in the future?

The bill which is now before the House provides for the organization of corporations to carry on all branches of business. It provides for the issuance of bonds by the Philippine government and certain of the cities of those islands. It invites the investment of capital, and in the future capital so invested in the

to him, and left to his protection 3,000 or 4,000 whom the Filipino army had captured. Dewey praised his ally's patience, forbearance, and humanity. Aguinaldo told him: "I can capture Manila at once." Dewey and Anderson demurred and politely asked Aguinaldo to wait until the American troops could share the honor. Aguinaldo was acquiescent and obliging. Yes, he said, he would wait; he believed in the good faith of the Americans, and all he wanted was the independence of his country.

American transports arrived with troops—5,000, then 10,000, then 15,000, and more. Aguinaldo was requested to give them place in his line of circumvallation. He smiled and consented. Then another important thing happened; the American admiral and general on one side and the Spanish general on the other made an infamous bargain, agreeing to fight a sham battle as an excuse for the Spanish surrender of Manila. They agreed not to fire upon each other. But the Filipinos, who for more than three months had been our cordial and faithful allies, were not informed of this arrangement. They had honestly cooperated with us, had won battle after battle from the Spaniards in their front, and captured thousands of prisoners; but now, with a perfidy unexampled in history, they were left to suffer from the fire of the common enemy.

A Manila newspaper, the *Diario*, printed daily, comments on affairs as seen from the Spanish point of view. On July 28 it said:

The Tagalos have been nothing but tools for the Yankees. When the end for which these tools were bought is accomplished they will be thrown aside and got rid of altogether. That is what the Yankee will do with the rebels when his interest no longer requires their aid. A kick and "I don't remember that I ever saw you."

Even Admiral Dewey, in his mistaken idea of his duty as an officer, acknowledged that he had "made use of" Aguinaldo; but he said he would "rather up anchor and steam out of the harbor" than to enter upon a crusade of conquest; and when he saw that that was the purpose of this Government he had the manliness to abandon the business and come home. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Can any American who believes in justice and fair play consider the treatment which we extended to our allies without deep detestation and disgust? If this conduct was not despicable and odious, what conduct could be? If it was honorable, what conduct would be disgraceful? If, as the Republican party in its platforms and speeches has so often assured us, we are in the Philippines under the direction of Divine Providence, how much different would our conduct have been if we had been directed by the Prince of Darkness?

WHY DID WE FIRE UPON OUR ALLIES?

Having fooled and defrauded the Filipinos, to quarrel with them was easy. Having broken faith with them, to fire upon them was not difficult. We hate those whom we have abused. Our officers, with a supercilious assertion of Anglo-Saxon superiority, commanded the Filipinos to get out of Manila—for hundreds of years their capital. American officers occupied their palaces. Following the brutal example, the soldiers called the natives "niggers," "monkeys," etc., kicked them off the sidewalks as they would truant dogs, and disarmed them wherever found while permitting the defeated Spanish officers still to strut in their side arms.

From insult to outrage is but a step. A people who were despised because they were of another race from their allies could not expect to be treated as equals. Moreover, the policy of the American Government assumed more definite shape. Manila fell in the first half of August. In the last half of the following December the President issued a proclamation commanding his Army to seize the entire Philippine Archipelago and subjugate it to American arms. This was a declaration of war. It would have produced war in a single day if uttered against Great Britain, France, Germany, or even Italy or Turkey. Dewey had cabled to this country, "The people expect independence." The treaty of Paris, technically conveying the islands to the United States, was not yet ratified, so that it could not be even pretended that we had any claim whatever to the archipelago.

Our army at Manila now assumed the aggressive, pressing forward and pushing the Filipinos beyond the suburbs in spite of the repeated and pitiful appeals of Aguinaldo that peace might be preserved. These appeals were accompanied by a warning that his people would fight for their independence and would be subjugated by no nation whatever. Then came the clash—on February 4, 1899. It took place in the Santa Mesa district, outside of the boundaries of Manila, where, under the terms of the protocol, we had no right to be.

How did it happen? Republicans declare that the Filipinos began it by assaulting the American troops—that the Filipinos fired first. It has been affirmed by the brazen throat of Republican conventions. It has been repeatedly declared by President Roosevelt, by Senators LODGE, SPOONER, HAWLEY, PLATT, DEWEY, FORAKER, and by almost every Republican orator in the last cam-

paign. It has been reiterated by them from every stump that the Filipinos opened the war by firing first upon our troops. What are the facts? I submit the following official proofs, cable dispatches from Manila to President McKinley:

February 4, 1899.—Firing upon the Filipinos and the killing of one of them by the Americans, leading to return fire. (Maj. Gen. E. S. Otis. Report up to April 6, 1899.)

February 4, 1899.—The chief insurgent leaders did not wish to open hostilities at this time. (Maj. Gen. E. S. Otis. Report up to April 6, 1899.)

The engagement was one strictly defensive on the part of the insurgents and of vigorous attack by our forces. (Major-General Otis's report, p. 96.)

FIRST SHOT IN THE WAR.

The following is an interview with W. W. Grayson, private, Nebraska Volunteers, in San Francisco, August 5, 1899:

That night about 8 o'clock Miller and I were cautiously pacing our district. We came to a fence and were trying to see what the Filipinos were up to. Suddenly, near at hand on our left, there was a low but unmistakable Filipino outpost signal whistle. It was immediately answered by a similar whistle about 25 yards to the right. Then a red lantern flashed its signal from blockhouse No. 7. We had never seen such a sign used before. In a moment something rose slowly up not 20 feet in front of us. It was a Filipino. I yelled "Halt!" and I made it pretty loud, for I was accustomed to challenging the officer of the guard in approved military style. The man moved. Then he impudently shouted "Halt!" at me. Well, I thought the best thing to do was to shoot him. He dropped. If I did not kill him I guess he died of fright. Then two Filipinos sprang out of the gateway, about 15 feet from us. I called, "Halt," and Miller fired, and dropped one. I saw that another was left. Well, I think I got my second Filipino that time. We retreated to where our six other fellows were, and I said: "Line up, fellows; the niggers are in here all through these yards." We then retreated to the pipe line and stayed behind the water main all night. It was some minutes after our second shots before the Filipinos began firing.

Brig. Gen. C. McC. Reeve, on duty in Manila at the time, said in an interview in Minneapolis on April 24, 1899:

I can tell you one piece of news that is not generally known in the United States. On Sunday, February 5, the day after the fighting began, General Torres, of the insurgents, came through our lines under a flag of truce and had a personal interview with General Otis, in which, speaking for Aguinaldo, he declared that the fighting had been begun accidentally and was not authorized by Aguinaldo; that Aguinaldo wished to have it stopped, and that to bring about a conclusion of hostilities he proposed the establishment of a neutral zone between the two armies of any width that would be agreeable to General Otis, so that during the peace negotiations there might be no further danger of conflicts between the two armies. To these representations of General Torres General Otis sternly replied that the fighting having once begun must go on to the grim end.

This is substantiated by the telegram of General Otis, sent during the next week, as follows:

FEBRUARY 9, 1899.

Aguinaldo now applies for a cessation of hostilities and conference; have declined to answer.

The following is Aguinaldo's view of the situation, as stated in his order to the Filipino army:

The American forces, without prior notification or any just motive, attacked our camp at San Juan del Monte and our forces garrisoning the blockhouses round the outskirts of Manila. * * * No one can deplore more than I this outbreak of hostilities. I have a clear conscience that I have endeavored to avoid it at all cost, using all my efforts to preserve friendship with the army of occupation, even at the cost of not a few humiliations and many sacrificed rights. * * * I call on God as a witness of my good faith and the uprightness of my intentions.

EMILIO AGUINALDO,
General-in-Chief.

This order of Aguinaldo is contained in General Otis's report, page 95.

Of this battle of February 4-5, General Otis reports (p. 99):

Our casualties for the day in killed and wounded numbered about 250. Those of the insurgents will never be known. Our hospitals were filled with their wounded, our prisons with their captured, and we buried 700 of them. Their loss was estimated at 3,000, and, considering the number who died on the field of battle, might be deemed conservative.

Is there a man in the Congress of the United States who is proud of that summary? Is there a man in America whose senses have not been stupefied by blood who will declare that battle an honor to the American flag? General Hughes in his testimony before the Philippine Committee affirmed that he felt as if he were fighting children.

I repeat the question, What respectful language can we use toward those Republicans who reiterate in face of these official reports that the Filipinos fired the first shot and began the fighting?

The Filipinos were on the defensive, as General Otis had reported to Washington, but after they were thus treacherously and brutally attacked they fought as well as they could. They were fighting for independence; this they repeatedly declared through Aguinaldo and other leaders at every opportunity. They made it so clear that it was independence they were fighting for that they left no excuse for anybody to deny it or misunderstand it. Of course they fought at every disadvantage. In fighting ability they were far inferior to the Americans, and they had no machine guns or other of the most modern implements of warfare. Therefore it was that in the first battle they lost something like 15 men for every 1 of the Americans killed or wounded.

This inferiority in battle may cause the thoughtless and heartless to jeer, but their persistence in fighting for the right to govern themselves should evoke other feelings than scorn in the

Philippines, held by our own and citizens of other countries, will urge their claims to our protection with a stronger voice, and clamor more loudly than ever, that in honor we must not leave their interests unprotected in these islands; but that we must continue to hold down these people by force of arms. We must continue to spend millions of dollars annually to maintain an army there. We must continue to send the flower of our youth to these tropical islands, in order that foreign investors, seeking only worldly gain, may continue to exploit this unfortunate people.

An argument such as this, Mr. Chairman, would mean that the time will never come when we can withdraw our forces from these islands. It would mean that the reasons which prevent us now from granting these people their independence would become stronger with each passing year, and that at no time could we hope to withdraw our jurisdiction and leave these people in liberty and peace. I deny that any such condition exists. If this nation is strong enough to hold down an entire people, it is strong enough to enforce an agreement providing for the protection of all who are entitled in honor to look to us for protection in the Philippine Islands.

The policy of the Republican party as disclosed in the bill now offered us requires our continued stay in the Philippine Islands. The substitute offered by the minority provides for the establishment of a government in the Philippines and the granting to them of independence, and so with these two measures presented the issue is joined. You, being in the majority, will pass this bill, and it will become a law, and with the passage of this measure the record is made.

The Republican policy of imperialism is declared, and in a few days we will go before the country to learn whether the record which you have made, whether the policy which you here advocate, is approved by the American people.

The question of the liberty and independence of the Filipinos is not alone for the courts and Congress to determine. That question must be settled by the great voice of the American people.

To your policy we are unalterably opposed. On this issue you meet a united Democracy. We hold you responsible for the millions of treasure you have wasted; for all the millions you are still to waste; for all the lives you have sacrificed; for all the youth that has been shattered; for all the gibbering insane which you have brought from the Orient; for all the cruelty, shame, misery, and suffering resulting from your Philippine policy. You are responsible for it all.

You stand for imperialism, with all it implies. We stand for the eternal principles of liberty and justice; for the principles upon which this nation was founded; for the right of a people to govern themselves; for the Declaration of Independence as it is written, and for political freedom and liberty everywhere under the flag of this great Republic. [Loud applause.]

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. There are no other speakers prepared to speak on this side to-night. I desire to give notice to those who are on the list that they must be here to-morrow in the daytime and then come here in the evening session or some of them will not have an opportunity to address the committee at all. A good many have gone away and will not return until Monday or Tuesday, and some of them it will be impossible to hear. I want this understood, that gentlemen must be here to-morrow in order that they may have an opportunity to speak.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. I yield twenty minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. SMALL].

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Chairman, the Philippine Archipelago is ours. This fact may as well be admitted and, indeed, asserted. It is ours by force, and this establishes the proprietary relation, whether it is ours by right or not.

The principal question before this Congress is, "What shall we do with this piece of property?" The answer to this question depends upon several important considerations. First, How did we come by it? Second, Is it worth keeping?

In trying to arrive at an answer to the problem before us, I shall discuss the preliminary questions: How came we at war with Spain? When did fighting between us and the Filipinos begin? Was it their fault or ours? Whose fault was it that it continued? Is it probable that the Filipinos desire to be our subjects?

HOW DID THE WAR WITH SPAIN BEGIN?

For three years the opinion prevailed throughout the United States, without distinction of party, that the last Republican Administration had done all in its power to prevent our war with Spain. Its head was looked upon as the great champion of peace, and his friends insisted that he was driven into the war by the obstinacy and hostile attitude of the Spanish dynasty. The time has come to reveal the actual facts in the case. This is now possible, for the letters and dispatches of Gen. Stewart L. Woodford, our minister to Madrid, after having been suppressed for three

years, in violation of comity and decency, if not of law, have at last been extorted from the American Secretary of State. These dispatches show beyond any doubt that John Sherman, then Secretary of State, and General Woodford made a most earnest and patriotic effort to prevent the war, and that their efforts were brought to naught by their being arbitrarily overruled. General Woodford was superseded in recognition of his efforts to preserve the peace, and John Sherman, superseded by Day, went down to his grave, embittered by his treatment and bemoaning the war which had resulted.

In proof of this I quote briefly from these long-suppressed dispatches. General Woodford communicated daily with Washington. For weeks he insisted every day that Spain did not want war; that she knew she would be beaten if there were war, and that she would do everything self-respect would permit to avert war. On March 19, 1898, he telegraphed to the President:

If you will acquaint me fully with general settlement desired, I believe Spanish Government will offer without compulsion such terms as may be satisfactory to both nations.

Seven days later Secretary Day telegraphed to Woodford:

See if following can be done: First, armistice until October 1. Negotiations meantime looking for peace between Spain and insurgents through friendly offices President United States. Second, immediate revocation of reconcentrado order.

Within three days the reconcentrado order was revoked by Spain. On April 5 the Queen of Spain offered in return for peace to issue the following humiliating proclamation:

At the request of the Holy Father in this passion week and in the name of Christ, I proclaim immediate and unconditional suspension of hostilities in the island of Cuba * * * for the space of six months. I pray the blessing of heaven upon this truce of God, which I now declare in His name and with the sanction of the Holy Father of all Christendom.

Could the Queen have gone further without sacrificing all self-respect? What did Secretary Day do with this magnanimous offer? He made no answer to it. He pigeonholed it for six days. Woodford telegraphed to him:

If this be secured, I believe you will get final settlement before August 1 on one of the following bases: Either such autonomy as the insurgents may agree to accept, or recognition by Spain of the independence of the island, or cession of the island to the United States. I hope that nothing will now be done to humiliate Spain.

In the face of all this the President launched his war message at Congress the very next day. Everything indicates that he had resolved to have war and not to accept any concessions whatever from Spain at least six weeks before this time. All these dispatches were pitched into the pigeonhole, and the American people were deceived by some one. The afrit of war was released and pandemonium has since prevailed. The necessity for the Spanish war will still be discussed, but it will no longer be truthfully denied that it was begun under false pretenses.

With all this diplomatic correspondence in hand, and knowing exactly what the truth was, the Republican convention of Ohio, on May 28 last, declared in its platform that "the war with Spain was forced on us against our will." What can be said of such an assertion? How can it be characterized in language which would be considered parliamentary?

WERE THE FILIPINOS OUR ALLIES?

The war with Spain was immediately punctuated by two great events—the destruction of the Spanish fleet in the bay of Manila by Admiral George Dewey and the destruction of the sister fleet off Santiago by Admiral Winfield Scott Schley. From a military point of view these were magnificent performances, and they were followed by tremendous consequences.

Dewey, before leaving Hongkong for Manila, had sent an appeal to Aguinaldo, general in chief of the Filipino forces, to come from Singapore and help him, in accordance with the generous promise of the Philippine republic a year before. Aguinaldo responded at once, and carried with him a proclamation to the Filipino people containing the following declaration and injunctions:

COMPATRIOTS: Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach, and in a way the most free and independent nation could hardly wish for. The Americans, not from mercenary motives, but for the sake of humanity and the lamentations of so many persecuted people, have considered it opportune to extend their protecting mantle to our beloved country. * * * Rather die than be ungrateful to our American liberators. * * * Where you see the American flag flying, assemble in numbers. They are our redeemers.

Dewey received Aguinaldo as an ally in accordance with this pathetic manifesto. Aguinaldo cordially responded. He went ashore to organize his people and recall his soldiers to arms, for there were no American soldiers within 7,000 miles. He succeeded in his mission. He organized an army of 35,000 men, paid for arming them with the very money he has been accused of appropriating to his own use, and built a line of breastworks 8 miles long, entirely encompassing the city of Manila. Dewey encouraged him; praised him; telegraphed to Washington, "Aguinaldo has done wonders;" delivered hundreds of Spanish prisoners

breasts of all men who love liberty and remember American history.

Our present relation to the Filipinos is undoubtedly warlike; yet in a technical and legal sense war does not exist. The Constitution of the United States denies to the President the right to make war by limiting that function wholly to the action of Congress. Congress declared war against Spain, but that war came to an official end on February 14, 1899. For more than two years now we have been fighting in the Philippine Islands for the purpose of subjugating to our rule 10,000,000 people who never owed or pretended to owe us allegiance, but this the President calls an insurrection, and the men who are fighting for their liberty he calls "insurgents."

THE TORTURES WERE FORESEEN.

The result might have been foretold. Wherever on the earth a superior nation comes in hostile contact with an inferior there is always something more than battles resulting. The conceit, superciliousness, and insolence of the superior race beget conduct on both sides forbidden by the rules of civilized warfare. The representatives of France, Germany, England, Japan, and the United States were in China only a few months, but wholesale looting, arson, murder, and torture had already begun when the armies were called home none too soon. Hostility between the white races of the north and the brown races of the Tropics and the Orient always result in the barbarization of the whites.

The numerous cases and ingenious methods of torture of which our soldiers in the Philippines have been guilty might well stagger the credulity of the country, if such abundant corroboration were not at hand. Hardly any atrocity that has ever been perpetrated by the American Indians in their most ferocious mood is lacking in the official reports from Manila. The most horrible tortures have been resorted to, not in retaliation after the manner of the American Indian, but without that excuse, merely for the purpose of compelling the victim to divulge secrets of which he is suspected of being possessed.

Some of these cases are disgusting and sickening in their details. One of the commonest is the so-called water-cure torture, which seems to have been resorted to by every regiment at a distance from Manila. In this the victim is thrown upon his back, held down, his mouth pried open with a bayonet, and water poured into him by the gallon until the suffering is too great to bear. If he does not yield a soldier is detailed to jump on his body and force the water out when the process is repeated. When these debasing and terrifying atrocities are denounced the Republican party interposes with its protest and charges us with abusing the Army!

We are not abusing the Army. The exact contrary is true. We are defending the Army. A good many officers and soldiers in the Army are not guilty. It is in their behalf that we call attention to the terrible crimes committed by their unworthy comrades. When burglars are arrested, is it an assault upon the community? When a murderer is tracked and captured, are the police who capture him to be charged with abusing the law-abiding among whom he lived? Of course not. They are defending that community. Why, then, are we charged with slandering the Army because we call attention to the crimes which some officers and some soldiers by their order commit in the Philippines? We do not claim that the whole Army is guilty of these hideous excesses. We denounce only the men who are guilty, and we declare the rest to be innocent.

Who is slandering the Army? They who defend torture and merciless inhumanity as the work of the entire Army, confounding the innocent with the guilty, or we who discriminate between the decent soldier and the vile wretches who perpetrate anew the enormities of Spain in the sixteenth century?

These grewsome practices are admitted. There is proof of thousands of cases of the water-cure torture administered to extort confession. General Funston shamelessly declared in his Chicago speech: "Sometimes we have extorted information by force," and on receiving the proofs that Major Waller had shot eleven unarmed prisoners and burnt "all the villages and houses in his line of march," he exclaimed, "Bully for Waller!" And Gen. Jacob H. Smith declares "Major Waller carried out my wishes and instructions loyally and gallantly."

Through his counsel a colonel in the Army, General Smith, has admitted to the court which tried him in Manila:

That he issued orders to Major Waller to kill the natives and burn their homes.

That he issued orders to make Samar (an island of 300,000 people) a "howling wilderness."

That he ordered all persons capable of bearing arms to be killed.

That he ordered this ruthless killing specifically to include all above 10 years of age.

In harmony with this infamy General Bell established reconcentrado camps, ordered everybody to come within "the life line," and threatened all others with death. He issued an order to his soldiers to so prosecute the war "as to make the people

want peace and want it badly," and he authorized them to "do anything and take any action which will contribute to the end in view." Any action! And this same General Bell is a member of the court that is trying Smith.

General Hughes has testified before the Senate Philippines Committee that he issued orders that if his troops were fired on in any town or village it would be burned; and when asked if such punishment would not fall mainly on women and children, he replied: "They are a part of the family; you can punish the man probably worse in that way than any other." The testimony of a soldier that a treacherous native guide was buried by his regiment up to the neck and that his face was then smeared with molasses and he was left for the great white ants to eat, should be either denounced or applauded by the defenders of our present Philippine policy.

In the face of hundreds of pages of proof that these atrocities have been and are being committed by American soldiers, the President of the United States, selecting Memorial Day for his speech, with shocking inappropriateness, affirmed that "the fact really is that our warfare in the Philippines has been carried on with singular humanity!" He said, further, there have been some cruelties, "but;" they must be exposed, "but;" inhumanities should not be indulged in by American troops, "but;" tortures are not justifiable, "but." Yes, the President of the United States summoned to his aid fourteen "buts" [laughter] in these paragraphs of his speech, and he employed them solely for the purpose of extenuating and excusing the crimes he condemned.

In this remarkable Memorial Day address the President finds the occasion a proper one for stirring up anew sectional animosities, recalling that Grant was sometimes called a "butcher" and the Union Army designated as "Lincoln's hirelings." If he had added all the opprobrious epithets which some of the Union men bestowed upon the Confederate President and army, he would have succeeded in doing all that could be done on an occasion of amity and good feeling to kindle anew sectional hostility and hate. If the party that elected him Vice-President thinks his utterance on Memorial Day well timed and discreet, the objects of his spleen will probably be able to survive it.

THE PARTY IS TO BLAME, NOT THE SOLDIERS.

The fact is that the chief blame for the atrocities in the Philippines does not properly fall upon the soldiers whose hands perpetrated them. The chief responsibility for all the outrages perpetrated by Americans upon the Filipinos or by the Filipinos upon Americans will forever rest upon the Administration which adopted the wretched policy of subjugation and sent an army to deprive a free people of their liberties.

Here rests the censure and the condemnation. It can not be shirked. They knew that such a scheme of rapacity made necessary all the excesses of barbarian warfare. They knew that the English army in India, the German army in West Africa, the French army in Madagascar, the Italian army in Abyssinia, and even the army sent to maintain the mild authority of Holland in Java, in aggressive warfare to deprive people of their rights and reconstruct their morals, religion, and social policy, had encountered these same insurmountable difficulties and had resorted to these same hideous practices. They knew it; for, as the great Senator from Massachusetts has just said in the Senate, "Men are held to know what they ought to know in morals and in the conduct of states." [Applause on Democratic side.]

They knew, therefore, that the Malays are not expected to fight according to civilized methods, and that their enemies are sure to make the Malayan method more bloody and more revolting. This has always been the case.

Gen. Jacob Smith finds a fitting prototype in Rajah James Brooke, of Sarawak, who received from England \$100,000 for killing a large number of the natives, or, as Smith puts it, "pacifying" them, and who reduced to abject slavery all who submitted to him. Conditions in Sumatra, where the Dutch have been endeavoring to subjugate the natives for hundreds of years, are thus described by an officer of the United States Geological Survey who recently traveled there:

In 1873 the Dutch Government declared war with the Achinese inhabiting the northern part of the island of Sumatra. The Achinese are very much like the Tagalos of Luzon in being of pure Malay stock and the most civilized of all the Sumatran tribes. * * * The reason why this war has been so long drawn out is that, as in the Philippines, the Dutch have been unable to draw the Achinese out into the open for a decisive engagement. The fighting is carried on in the jungles and consists of surprises, ambushes, etc. * * * The Dutch fight the natives in squads and the war is one of extermination, no quarter being given to those who fall into the hands of the Hollanders.

One thing that the Dutch have discovered in their two centuries of rule in Sumatra is that there is no such thing as making the natives satisfied with their form of government. The Dutch have been in possession of Sumatra since the seventeenth century, yet in all that time the natives have never let an opportunity pass to attempt regaining their independence. The slightest concession, relaxation of rigor, or kindness on the part of the Dutch is interpreted by the Malays as a symptom of weakness, and is made the signal for a general uprising and butchery of the whites.

Thus it is everywhere in efforts to subjugate. England's rule in India has been established and maintained by treachery, perjury, forgery, wholesale lying, and torture of every kind known to barbarians, and the ryots of India have to pay for this rule of aliens not only in money won by the hardest of labor, but they have to pay for it in lives laid down—sometimes a million of the poorest people perishing of famine in a single year. I say the Republicans knew all these things when they deliberately resolved to subjugate the Philippine Islands and destroy the liberties of their people.

I say that the Republicans knew also that the great nations which have subjugated tropical peoples have been obliged to resort to "enforced labor," another name for slavery, in order to get labor performed. Imperialists all over the world are in favor of this slavery, and if we succeed in subjugating and holding the Philippine Islands the people that are left after our machine guns have got through with them will be reduced to slavery.

WILL IT PAY TO GO ON?

How are we going to make this oriental enterprise pay if we persist in it?

It has cost the lives of 10,000 Americans and at least 150,000 Filipinos. How much has it cost in money? In response to a resolution of the Senate, the Secretary of War reported to-day that the entire cost had been \$170,000,000. The curious bookkeeping by which this result was reached can not be justified, but even this sum is stupendous in comparison to results accomplished.

What would this vast sum, disbursed only for evil, have done for Americans if it had been expended upon our own soil?

What would it have done for religion?

It would have erected a new church in every town of America.

What would it have done for education?

It would have built a schoolhouse in every town.

What would it have done for the comfort of farmers?

It would have bought a new mowing machine for every hay-grower and a new sewing machine for every farmer's wife in America.

What would it have done for agricultural progress?

It would have irrigated the great central West, constructing retaining reservoirs at the head of every river, sending water in spacious aqueducts through the thirsty valleys, and carrying luxuriance to half a million new-made farms.

What would it have done for commerce?

It would have constructed the isthmian canal for vessels of the largest size, or would have enlarged the Erie Canal to carry ocean greyhounds to Chicago, and would have begun and finished a ship canal connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi River, and constructed an inland waterway from Boston to Beaufort Inlet, North Carolina.

What would this vast sum, diverted from the Philippine Islands, where it has been worse than wasted, have done for travel?

It would have built a superb Appian Way, a hundred feet wide, as smooth and hard as crystal, from Boston to San Francisco, with lateral branches to Montreal and Florida, to Manitoba and Texas.

What profits are in sight from our Quixotic venture? We are beaten to-day by all the other great nations in trade with the Philippines. We have sown there the seeds of inextinguishable hatred. How are we going to trade with a country which we have depopulated and impoverished? If our trade with the Philippine Islands last year had returned to us a profit of 50 per cent, it would take a thousand years for us to get back the money we have already expended.

How shall we get out of the scrape we have gotten into?

There is but one way: We must acknowledge our error in manly fashion; give up our insane thirst for dominion; promise independence to the Filipinos on honorable terms that self-respecting men can accept—such terms as are offered to them in our minority bill.

Who favors this policy? All Democrats, with Grover Cleveland and William Jennings Bryan at their head. All Populists favor it. All of the most distinguished Republicans of the last decade; Benjamin Harrison and John Sherman favored it, and died advocating it. Governor Boutwell, Judge Edmunds, Carl Schurz—all members of Republican cabinets—Andrew Carnegie, Thomas B. Reed, Senator Hoar—all are aligned as champions of this humane and enlightened policy. And the Philippine Commission appointed by President McKinley—Dewey, Schurman, and Denby, three members out of the five, have boldly repudiated this destructive policy of the Republican party.

Shall we continue to impoverish ourselves and send our sons to death, or to diseases worse than death, merely for the gratification of our vanity? Let us stand by our ideals; let us vindicate the Declaration of Independence; let us keep our promise to our allies—a promise made, if not in formal language, at least by our principles, by our unambiguous acts, by our bill of rights, by our

entire history. Let us substitute for our flag the flag of self-government in the Eastern seas, make friends of those who are now our foes, and anchor a young republic off the coast of China. Could any deed bring greater joy or confer greater honor upon our Government? Would it not be an achievement to be proud of?

Our treachery to the Filipinos after they had fought by our side as our allies, and Funston's perfidious capture of the Filipino general are worthy of the base and infamous Themistocles, whose conduct all readers of history will recall. After the navies of Athens, Sparta, and the other Greek States had been for years fighting side by side against Persia, the aggressive enemy of all, Themistocles proclaimed that he had devised a plan greatly to the advantage of Athens, but could not disclose it in a public assembly.

The convocation thereupon appointed the wise and humane Aristides as its representative, and agreed to abide by his decision as to the adoption of the scheme. The two leaders consulted. Aristides listened, and at once reported to the assembly that nothing could be more advantageous to Athens than the plan of Themistocles, and nothing could be more wicked and unjust. Thereupon it was immediately rejected. When ultimately revealed, it became known that the ingenious project was to secure the naval supremacy of Athens by clandestinely burning the navies of all the other Greek States, her faithful allies. The proposal was declared to be infamous, and Themistocles was banished for life to the realms of Xerxes.

Aristides was surnamed or nicknamed "the Just." It does not seem to have occurred to him that everything is honorable in war. He scorned to betray his allies, showing a sensitiveness that would have been sneered at if exhibited in the present Congress of the United States. He declared that it would be infamous for Athens to sink a single trireme that had fought in her cause. Aristides was crowned with honor by Athenians, and he died enfolded in their grateful love.

History has bestowed upon him her laurels. We are told that there was one man in Athens who was terribly fatigued and irritated whenever the name of the great hero and patriot was mentioned. He said he was tired to death hearing Aristides called "the Just." It is the same to-day. The cause of liberty is as fatiguing to some ears as was the honored name which Athens bestowed on Aristides. They are tired of it—tired to death hearing about it. It provokes them. It irritates them. It even exasperates them. They stop their ears. They beg us not to mention it any more; and when somebody on this side of the Chamber extols the name and cause of freedom, they wildly wring their hands and tragically pull their hair, and cry out "Don't! Spare us! Don't mention it again! We have heard it all before! It is the same old speech! We are tired of hearing about it!" There is one thing which gentlemen can do to effectually seal our lips and put an end to the tiresome demand—let them enact justice into law and establish freedom in the Philippines. [Loud applause.]

Mr. JONES of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to. Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. CURRIER, having resumed the chair, Mr. KYLE, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill S. 2295, and had come to no resolution thereon.

And then, on motion of Mr. JONES of Virginia (at 9 o'clock and 54 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until to-morrow at 11 o'clock a. m.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, Mr. MARTIN, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 15068) providing for the resurvey of certain townships in San Diego County, State of California, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 2606); which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the Committee of the Whole House, as follows:

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Claims; to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 14357) for the relief of Paymaster James E. Tolfree, United States Navy, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 2607); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 14358) for the relief of Pay Clerk Charles Blake, United States Navy, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 2608); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. GRAFF, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 1672) for the relief of Elisha A. Goodwin, executor of the estate of Alexander W. Goodwin, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 2609); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, the Committee on Invalid Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 13608) granting an increase of pension to Elvira M. Cooper, and the same was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. MAHON: A bill (H. R. 15200) to provide relief for personal injuries sustained by the destruction of the United States battle ship Maine—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. CURTIS: A bill (H. R. 15201) to allot the lands of the Cherokee tribe of Indians in Indian Territory, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH: A bill (H. R. 15202) to amend an act entitled "An act temporarily to provide revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," approved April 12, 1900—to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PUGSLEY (by request): A bill (H. R. 15203) to provide for the construction of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JENKINS (by request): A bill (H. R. 15204) for the extension of Maryland avenue east of Fifteenth street to M street northeast—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GRAFF: A bill (H. R. 15205) granting a pension to Henry G. McKinley—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HENDERSON: A bill (H. R. 15206) granting a pension to Mary P. Everton—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOY: A bill (H. R. 15207) to permit W. W. Wheeler to prosecute a claim—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McCULLOCH: A bill (H. R. 15208) for the relief of James H. Rodgers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAYNARD: A bill (H. R. 15209) for the relief of George W. Wood—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. RANDELL of Texas: A bill (H. R. 15210) for the relief of Gertrude O'Bannon—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SOUTHARD: A bill (H. R. 15211) granting a pension to Mary J. Slusser—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS: Resolutions of the Trades League of Philadelphia, Pa., favoring a bill to increase the efficiency of the foreign service, etc.—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BABCOCK: Petition of druggists of Platteville, Wis., for the passage of House bill 178, reducing the tax on alcohol—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BINGHAM: Resolution of the Trades' League of Philadelphia in favor of bill for the reorganization of the consular service, etc.—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania (by request): Petition of 7 druggists of Phoenixville, Pa., for reduction of the tax on alcohol—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GRAHAM: Petition of Theodore J. Frank and 5 other druggists of Allegheny, Pa., in favor of House bill 178, for the reduction of the tax on alcohol—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolutions of the Trades' League of Philadelphia, Pa., favoring a bill to increase the efficiency of the foreign service of the United States, and to provide for the reorganization of the consular service—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HANBURY: Papers to accompany House bill 14721, to correct the military record of Michael Keegan—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HEMENWAY: Petition of W. H. Fogas, of Evansville, Ind., urging the reduction of the tax on alcohol—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LOVERING: Resolutions of the selectmen of the towns of Middleboro and Plymouth, Mass., for increase of pay of letter carriers—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. MAYNARD: Papers to accompany House bill for the relief of George W. Wood—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. McCLELLAN: Petition of citizens of the Twelfth Congressional district of New York in favor of House bill No. 12203—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PUGSLEY (by request): Petition and papers to accompany House bill 15203, relating to an isthmian canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH: Petition of W. A. Hayes and other citizens of Rochester, Mich., in behalf of Prof. Theodore Munger, who claims to have discovered some new scientific facts regarding the earth—to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. SHALLENBERGER: Petition of William J. Murphy and 125 other inmates of the Soldiers and Sailors' Home at Grand Island, Nebr., favoring a pension of \$30 per month to all veterans over 30 years of age—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, June 21, 1902.

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

The SPEAKER. The Chair announces as Speaker pro tempore for this day, Mr. CURRIER.

E. G. JOHNSON.

Mr. HILDEBRANT. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Accounts, I call up House resolution 288, and I ask that the substitute reported by the committee be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House is hereby authorized to pay to E. G. Johnson out of the contingent fund of the House the sum of \$200 for services in caring for and regulating the House chronometer during the Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh Congresses.

The substitute resolution was agreed to.

ADDITIONAL CLERK FOR COMMITTEE ON ACCOUNTS.

Mr. HILDEBRANT. I also call up, Mr. Speaker, House resolution 307.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House is hereby authorized to pay, out of the contingent fund of the House, under the direction of the chairman of the Committee on Accounts, the sum of \$250, for additional clerical services rendered said committee in the discharge of the duties imposed by the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act approved March 3, 1902, with respect to the employment, compensation, and duties of employees of the House of Representatives.

The resolution was agreed to.

STENOGRAPHER IN THE OFFICE OF THE JOURNAL CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. HILDEBRANT. I also, by direction of the committee, Mr. Speaker, call up House resolution 310.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the employment of a stenographer in the office of the Journal clerk of the House is hereby authorized for the remainder of the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, the compensation of said stenographer to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House at the rate of \$100 a month.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I understand it to be true that these three resolutions have been unanimously reported from the Committee on Accounts.

Mr. BARTLETT. If the gentleman from Ohio will permit me, I will say that the three resolutions just read were agreed to by the Committee on Accounts and that the minority of the committee was fully represented, and the resolutions were unanimously reported.

The resolution was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. HILDEBRANT, a motion to reconsider the votes whereby the three resolutions were agreed to was laid on the table.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON SUNDRY CIVIL BILL.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to take up the sundry civil conference report and dispose of it. I suppose on one item at least, from what I understood yesterday in the debate on the floor, that the House will be asked to act on the question of a memorial bridge. There is evidently not a quorum present now, and I would be glad to give notice that at half past 12 o'clock to-day I will test the sense of the committee on a motion to rise for the purpose of making that report. I would do it now except that we can only proceed by unanimous consent.